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GENUINE MEMOIRS OF JOHN MURRAY, Esq;

Late SECRETARY to the Young PRETENDER.

Together with

REMARKS on the Same,

In a LETTER to a FRIEND.

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W. Musgrave.

BRITISH MUSEUM

GENUINE MEMOIRS OF *JOHN MURRAY*, Esq;

SO many various and odd Reports have run through the Town concerning this Gentleman, that I thought it a Duty incumbent on me, as a Lover of Truth, to set his Character and Conduct (both which are well known to me) in a fair and impartial Light, and then leave every Man to judge as he thinks proper. In doing this I shall have no recourse to any Flourishes of Rhetorick in order to influence the Reader's Mind in favour or disfavour of the Person I am to treat upon: My design being only to lay open the naked Truth, devoid of all Disguise, without attempting either to palliate or blacken any one Circumstance.

Mr. MURRAY is the Son of Sir DAVID MURRAY, Bart. by his Second Lady, a Daughter of Sir WILLIAM SCOT of *Ancran*, Bart. He was born at *Edinburgh* in the Year 1718, and educated at that University, where he went through a Course of Philosophy, and studied the Civil and Municipal Laws. I should not mention these Particulars but to obviate a mistaken Notion which I find is pretty current among People, of his having been brought up with the PRETENDER's Son at *Rome:*

A Perſon and Place he never ſaw till the Year 1741.

Having received all the Education *Scotland* could afford, his tender Mother, who had been ſeveral Years a Widow, complied with his earneſt Deſires of travelling for farther Improvement: Accordingly he went in the Year abovemention'd to *France*, perfected himſelf in that Language, which he had learn'd and ſpoke very well before, as alſo the *Italian*: Saw every thing worthy the Obſervation of a Traveller, and then proceeded to *Italy*.

I ſhall paſs over the Particulars of his Journey, and the Detail of thoſe Provinces he took in his Way to *Rome*, as of no moment to my Reader, nor material to the Affair which is the Subject of the following Pages. Being arrived at that famous City, he was infinitely charm'd with the magnificent Buildings, the curious Paintings, and the exquiſite Muſick which every where met his Eyes and Ears. As he is a Man of a contemplative and ſpeculative Nature, nothing furniſh'd him with Matter of more agreable Meditation than beholding the Ruins of thoſe celebrated Baths of Antiquity which are to be ſeen there; and the Tombs of VIRGIL and HORACE, Proofs how much Learning and Poetry were held in Eſtimation in the Days of AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, and many of his Succeſſors! Yet while he amuſed himſelf with the various Reliques of *Old Rome*, and view'd with Admiration the Grandeur of the *New*, he often lamented within himſelf that ſo glorious a Place, and which had given Birth to ſo many Heroes, Patriots, Philoſophers, Poets, and other illuſtrious Perſons, ſhould be devoted to Superſtition and blind Bigotry.—O, ſaid he to himſelf, *what a real* Paradiſe *would this be?—How could I dwell for ever here,*

here, happy in even the meaneſt Station, if that Church which in its Reformation has abjured and purg'd away all thoſe idle enthuſiaſtic Ceremoni s which deform Religion, were permitted to ſhew itſelf in native Purity!

I would not by this be thought to inſinuate as if Mr. MURRAY had any thing of that canting Zealotiſm for which ſome of his Country are ſo juſtly laugh'd at—On the contrary, I ſuppoſe him as little preciſe as other Gentlemen of his Age, and would only repreſent him as a Man of Thought and Reaſon, and as one that having been brought up in the ſtricteſt Principles of the Reform'd Epiſcopal Church, would never have engaged in a Cauſe ſo deſtructive to his Intereſt, without being (as he imagin'd) thoroughly convinc'd, that *Popery* would have gain'd no Advantage in theſe Kingdoms, by the Reſtoration of the STEUART Family.—How far his Notions in this Point were agreable to right Reaſon I will not take upon me to ſay, nor indeed can any Man pretend to aſſure himſelf—But to proceed:

Mr. MURRAY had not been many Days in *Rome* before he fell into the Acquaintance of an *Engliſh* Gentleman, whoſe Name it is not altogether proper to mention, or if it were it would be of no manner of Significance to the Reader.—This Perſon aſk'd him if he had ever ſeen *Santi Apoſtoli*, meaning the Palace of the *Chev lier de St.* GEORGE? to which Mr. MURRAY anſwering in the Negative, the other told him he would carry him there—that he was acquainted with ſeveral of the Domeſticks who would ſhew them all the Apartments, *and* ſaid he, *if you have a mind to be Religious, we will go at the Time of Divine Service and you may ſay your Prayers your own Way.*

Mr. MURRAY was very much ſurprized at theſe Words, and aſk'd what he meant, by *Jaying his Prayers his own Way?* (for he had never heard there was a Proteſtant Chapel in the young P——'s Apartment for them and their Retinue, till this Gentlemen aſſur'd him of it) the Matter, however, being now explain'd, they agreed in looking on this extraordinary Condeſcention in the POPE as a Piece of Policy: Knowing the great Bar to the STEUARTS Succeſſion to the Crowns of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* was Religion, his *Holineſs* was willing to remove it, by ſuffering the Iſſue of the *Chevalier* to be brought up in the Principles of the Church of *England*, hoping by that means the *Holy See* would one Day be eas'd of a very heavy Incumbrance. It now ſeem'd no longer ſtrange to Mr. MURRAY that the *Chevalier* had put his Sons under the Government of the Lords INVERNESS and DUNBAR, whom he very well knew were zealous Proteſtants, eſpecially when he was afterwards inform'd by ſeveral Perſons who were perfectly acquainted with the Secrets of the Family, and whoſe Veracity was not to be doubted, that this was the true Cauſe of that Quarrel between the Princeſs SOBIESKY and her Conſort, which made ſo great a Noiſe all over *Europe*, and at length entirely ſeparated them; tho' great Pains had been taken by thoſe who were Enemies to both, to make the World believe it had a different Foundation.

The next Day being appointed for the Gratification of a Curioſity which ought neither to be wonder'd at, nor condemn'd, Mr. MURRAY was introduc'd by his new Friend to Mr. MACKAY an *Iriſh* Gentleman, who was, I think, at that Time one of the Grooms of the Chamber to the eldeſt Son of the *Chevalier*, and Mr. BROWNE, of *Engliſh*

Extrac-

Extraction, but born at *St. Germans*, and Deputy-Maſter of the Wardrobe.

They were handſomely receiv'd and entertain'd by theſe Gentlemen, and the Court being then at *Albano*, allow'd the greater Opportunity of their being conducted through every Part of that neat and pleaſant Palace:---They happened to come too late for Prayers, but were ſhew'd the Chapel, which had neither *Confeſſional*, *Crucifix*, nor *Picture* except an Altar-piece, nor any one thing to diſtinguiſh it from an *Engliſh* Chapel, as indeed it was in effect. Mr. MURRAY aſking the Names of thoſe Divines who officiated there, was told, that at preſent they had only Doctor COOPER,—that Doctor BARTLETT who had formerly been his Coadjutor, having in one of his Sermons touch'd on ſome Points that were repreſented to the POPE as reflecting on the *Romiſh* Faith, his Holineſs was highly incenſed, and inſiſted on his Diſmiſſion; ſo the Doctor was obliged to depart, and glad no worſe Conſequence enſued; and that ſince his time there had been none but the abovenamed Doctor COOPER.

Having mention'd this Chapel, I cannot forbear relating an Accident that happened in it, which was look'd upon by the Friends and Adherents of the *Chevalier* as a ſure Prognoſtic of his Son's good Fortune: As the two young P——s (as they are call'd there) were at their Devotions, a ſmall Piece of the Cieling, which it ſeems is curiouſly ornamented with various Flowers in Fret-work, detach'd itſelf from the reſt, and a *Thiſtle* fell into the Lap of the Elder, on which he ſtarted and looking up, a *Roſe* fell immediately after; this together with a Star of great Magnitude which the Aſtronomers pretend appear'd at his Nativity, and

was never before diſcover'd, with many other Portents and old Prophecies, might, perhaps, have ſome ſhare in exciting him to that raſh Enterprize he afterwards undertook.—However that be, his ill Succeſs is ſufficient to convince every one of the Folly of placing any Dependance on Omens.

Mr. MURRAY was very much ſatisfied with every thing he ſaw, or heard of, in this Palace, and could not help feeling within himſelf a great deſire of being convinc'd whether the Owners of it were ſuch as they had been repreſented to him by thoſe he had talk'd with concerning them.—He had been told, that the *Chevalier de* ST. GEORGE himſelf was a Perſon of a moſt gracious Aſpect and Deportment, benign and courteous in his Behaviour, extremely pleas'd at an Opportunity of conferring a Favour, particularly on thoſe he look'd upon as his S——s, whether they acknowledg'd him as their S———n or not—It was ſufficient they were the Natives of any one of the three Kingdoms for them to be certain of all the good Offices in his Power; and that his two S—s had ſcarce their Equals in the World, either for natural or acquired Endowments. But this was not enough for Mr. MURRAY, his own Eyes muſt be the Judges, and many Days paſs'd not between his conceiving this Deſire and the fulfilling of it.

The Court being return'd, he renew'd his Viſits to thoſe Gentlemen of the Houſhold to whom he had been introduced, and ſoon had an Opportunity of ſeeing the two P——s—They both of them were extremely fond of talking to Strangers, but more eſpecially with ſuch as they conſider'd as S——s of their Father—As they were preſently inform'd of Mr. MURRAY's Name and Condition, a Page was ſent to let him know he might be permitted

mitted to kiſs their Hands, which Summons he gladly obeyed, and had a long Conference with the Elder, the Younger on ſome Occaſion having left the Room.

Here began that fatal and inviolable Attachment from which no Conſiderations, as it has ſince proved, could ever make him ſwerve: He became unhappily bewitch'd (if I may venture to uſe that Expreſſion) by the enchanting Perſon and yet more engaging Manners of that young Hero, and was no ſooner out of his Preſence than he begun to reaſon with himſelf, as he afterward told his Siſter the Lady of *Pimroude* and ſeveral others of his Friends, who, when he firſt return'd to *Scotland* in order to negotiate the Affairs of his *then* Maſter, would fain have perſuaded him to quit a Service, which they foreſaw would be attended with the greateſt Difficulties and Dangers.

Is not all Europe *now convinc'd*, ſaid he, *of the Legitimacy of that Great Perſon who is called the* Chevalier de St. George ?--*Have not all the Attempts to prove him otherwiſe met with the Shame they merited? Is any other Objection at preſent made, even by thoſe who were his Father's moſt inveterate Enemies, than the Religion in which he has been unhappily educated? why then ſhould that be any Objection to his princely Offspring, both whom I now ſee, he has had the Wiſdom to bring up Proteſtants?*

Many other Arguments which I forbear to mention, he urg'd in Favour of the Cauſe he undertook: —whether his Love to the Perſon of the young *Chevalier* might not make the Reaſons he found for attaching himſelf to his Party work the ſtronger in him, I will not ſay; but am very certain that, after the Battle of *Culloden*, in which all their Hopes were defeated, he told ſome of his Friends, that

the

the very Misfortunes which had attended their Enterprize serv'd to convince him more than before of the Justice of the Cause, since it gave him a greater Opportunity than Prosperity could have done, of discovering those Virtues in his P—— which render'd him worthy of r ——— g—He added many other such like Expressions, which it would not become me to repeat after him, nor should I have inserted any thing of this nature, but to shew, how much this Gentleman thought himself in the Right in what he had done, and that it was on no mean or mercenary View he enter'd into the Party; which may I think be obvious to any impartial Person, when they reflect that he had between three and four hundred Pounds *per Annum* of his own, (a very pretty Fortune for a younger Brother) and Relations, who had Interest enough to have procured him a considerable Employment either Civil or Military.

As Mr. MURRAY is very much Master of those Accomplishments which render a Man agreeable at first Sight, as well as of those which are necessary to retain good Will and Esteem, he was in a short time caress'd not only by the young *Chevaliers*, but also by their Father, in such a manner as excited too much Gratitude in him, and made him imagine the Service of his whole Life, and even Life itself, scarce an Equivalent for the Condescentions he received.—He was now every Day a Guest, and at length an Inhabitant at *Santi Apostoli*.—He attended the P—— of —— and D—— of —— (as they are vainly stiled) wherever they went; and was admitted to partake in all their Exercises and Recreations: And here I think it may not be amiss to give the Character of two Persons, one of whom has caus'd so much Disturbance in these Kingdoms,

and

and may, it is to be fear'd, cauſe yet more, whenever *France* or *Spain* has any Game to play upon us. —Take their Pictures then, omitting the Titles, as drawn by Mr. MURRAY's own Hand, and ſent by him to a certain Lady who had deſired it of him for the Gratification of her Curioſity, in the Year 1742.

" CHARLES EDWARD, the eldeſt Son of the " *Chevalier de* ST. GEORGE, is tall, above the com- " mon Stature, his Limbs are caſt in the moſt " exact Mold, his Complection has in it ſomewhat " of an uncommon Delicacy; all his Features are " perfectly regular and well turn'd, and his Eyes " the fineſt I ever ſaw; but that which ſhines " moſt in him, and renders him without Excep- " tion the moſt ſurpriſingly handſome Perſon of " the Age, is the Dignity that accompanies his " every Geſture; there is indeed ſuch an unſpeak- " able Majeſty diffus'd through his whole Mien " and Air, as it is impoſſible to have any Idea of " without ſeeing, and ſtrikes thoſe that do with " ſuch an Awe as will not ſuffer them to look upon " him for any time, unleſs he emboldens them to " it by his exceſſive Affability.

" Thus much, Madam, as to the Perſon of this " P——: His Mind, by all I can judge of it, is " no leſs worthy Admiration: —He ſeems to me, " and I find to all who know him, to have all the " good Nature of the STEUART Family blended " with the Spirit of the SOBIESKY's:—He is, at " leaſt, as far as I am capable of ſeeing into Men, " equally qualified to preſide in Peace and War: " —As for his Learning, it is extenſive beyond " what could be expected from double the Number " of his Years—He ſpeaks moſt of the *European* " Languages with the ſame Eaſe and Fluency as if

" each of them were the only one he knew—is a
" perfect Maſter of all the different kinds of *Latin*,
" underſtands *Greek* very well, and is not altoge-
" ther ignorant of *Hebrew*—*Hiſtory* and *Philoſophy*
" are his darling Entertainments, in both which
" he is well vers'd; the *one*, he ſays, will inſtruct
" him how to govern *others*, and the *other*, how
" to govern *himſelf*, whether in *proſperous* or *adverſe*
" Fortune.—Then for his Courage, that was ſuffi-
" ciently proved at the Siege of *Gaita*,* when tho'
" ſcarce arrived at the Age of Fifteen, he performed
" ſuch things, as in attempting made his Friends
" and Enemies alike tremble, tho' for different
" Motives.——What he is ordain'd for we muſt
" leave to the Almighty, who alone diſpoſes all;
" but he appears to be born and endow'd for
" Something very extraordinary.

" HENRY BENEDICT the Second Son, has alſo
" a very fine Perſon, tho' of a Stature ſomewhat
" lower than his Brother, and his Complection not
" altogether ſo delicate; he is however extremely
" well made, has a certain agreeable Robuſtneſs in
" his Mien, and a more than common Sparkle in
" his Eyes—many of thoſe Perfections I have, tho'
" faintly, deſcrib'd as appertaining to the *one*, are
" equally the Due of the *other*; 'tis hard, indeed,
" to ſay which of them has moſt apply'd himſelf to
" all the Branches of thoſe kinds of Learning
" which enable a Man to be uſeful to his Fellow-
" Creature.—The Difference I make between their
" Tempers is this, that the one has the agreeable

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* A Town in the Kingdom of *Naples*, taken from the *Auſtrians* in the Year 1734, by *Don Carlos*, now King of the *Two Sicilies*.

" Mixture

" Mixture of the STUART and SOBIESKY as I " have already ſaid, and the other ſeems actuated " more entirely by the Spirit of the latter—all the " Fire of his Great Anceſtors, on that Side, ſeems " collected in him; and I dare believe, that ſhou'd " his Arm ever be employ'd in ſo warrantable a " Cauſe as that which warm'd the Breaſt of his " * glorious Progenitor, when an hundred and " fifty thouſand *Turks* owed their Defeat † to the " Bravery of a handful of *Chriſtians*, led on by him " to Victory, this warlike young P—— would " have the ſame Succeſs.—His martial Spirit diſ- " cover'd itſelf when being no more than Nine " Years old, at the Time his Brother accompanied " the young King of *Naples* to enforce Poſſeſſion " of his Dominions, he was ſo much diſcontented " at being refus'd the Partnerſhip of that Glory " and that Danger, that he would not put on his " Sword, till his Father threaten'd to take away " his G——r too, ſaying, it did not become him " to wear the one without the other.

The Letter from which this Abſtract is taken is crowded with Eulogies of the like Nature; but the Repetition would be needleſs as well as irkſome to the greateſt Part of my Readers; what I have ſaid is ſufficient to convince any one, that Mr. MURRAY had not the Guilt of Lukewarmneſs for the Intereſt of the Party he eſpous'd to anſwer for.

I come now to the Scene of Action, to which I confeſs all this has been but an Introduction, a kind of Prelude, to awake Attention for more ſerious Matters: Mr. MURRAY being now grown into high Credit the Secret of an intended Invaſion of

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* King *John* of *Poland*. † Siege of *Vienna*.

one of theſe Kingdoms was communicated to him; but the Affair being yet in Embrio, the Conferences held on that Head were quite vague and little to the Purpoſe; many Schemes indeed were offer'd by ſome whoſe Zeal for the Cauſe over-run their Judgment, but rejected by the *Chevalier* as airy Notions, and it muſt be granted from a Diary Mr. MURRAY wrote of all that paſs'd, and happen'd in the Hurry of his being removed from one Place to another to be left behind, that he, the *Pretender* himſelf, was leſs eager for ſuch a Project's being put in Execution than moſt of his Followers, and did not accede to it, till urg'd by various Propoſals from *France*. Having at laſt conſented, they began to enter into more ſerious Conſultations, and which would be the moſt practicable Means of accompliſhing their Deſign was the daily Subject of Debate.

There were at that time ſeveral *French* Emiſſaries at *Rome*, who pretended to affirm no Succours either of Men or Money would be wanting from that Quarter. I am afraid alſo that ſome Encouragement was given from the Diſcontented Party in *England*, but whether it went any farther than a meer verbal one will not pretend to determine; be that as it may, it is certain that the *Jacobite* Faction were in high Expectations of Somewhat being ſpeedily done: The *Pretender* who remember'd the Year 15 too well to rely on Promiſes, declared from the firſt his Reſolution of not coming himſelf: However, he conſtituted his eldeſt Son P--- R———, and at his Requeſt Mr. MURRAY was made *Secretary* for *Scotiſh* Affairs.

In the latter End of the Year 1742 he, Mr. MURRAY was charg'd with a very important Commiſſion, which was to go to *Paris*, and after conſulting

ſulting with Mr. KELLY, who was then negotiating the Affair at the Court of *France*, to proceed to *Scotland*, and ſound how far the Heads of the Clans might be depended upon.

The new *Secretary* ſoon diſcover'd how capable he was of fulfilling all the Duties of his Poſt: Mr. KELLY not only made the Compliment to himſelf, but ſaid to others, that the young R—— could not have given a greater Proof of his Diſcernment than to make choice of him for an Employment of ſo much Weight. He had the Honour of delivering his Diſpatches with his own Hand to the Cardinal TENCIN, and was ſhut up with that Miniſter and Mr. KELLY for three Hours. Here he commenc'd an Acquaintance with the unfortunate *Marqueſs* of TULLIBARDINE, who in ſpite of all he had ſuffer'd ſince the Year 15, was no leſs ſanguine in what he call'd the R----- C----- than he had ſhew'd himſelf before; ſuch is the Infatuation of that Party, that all the Miſeries it involves them in have not the Power of bringing them back to Reaſon, and obliging them to quit their bigotted Principles;- they ſee not with the ſame Eyes that others do--the Phantom Loyalty gilds all the Proſpect, and dreſſes their Ruin in a pleaſing Form, this makes them court Dangers, be proud of Infamy, exult in Chains, and triumph even in Death, as numberleſs Examples both in the firſt and laſt Rebellions have teſtified.

Mr. RATCLIFF alſo, called there *Earl of* DERWENTWATER, and many more who were once in poſſeſſion of opulent Fortunes, but now the wretched Dependants on *French* Penſions, with Difficulty obtain'd, and accompanied with Contempt in the Payment, Mr. MURRAY had the Pleaſure to converſe with during his ſhort Stay, which was but

three

three Weeks, the grand Buſineſs requiring he ſhould repair to *Scotland* with all poſſible Expedition.

As he was very well reſpected by the Clans both on account of his Family and perſonal Accompliſhments, he found no great Difficulty in engaging the Heads of ſeveral of them, of themſelves too much inclin'd that Way, to ſign a Paper, wherein they promiſed to aſſiſt the Invaſion, whenever and in what manner ſoever it ſhould be made, with all the Forces in their Power. LOCHEIL, old GORDON of GLENBUCKET, MAC-LAUGHLAN, and GLENGARY, with all the MACKENZIES, were very ſtrenuous in aſſiſting Mr. MURRAY's Endeavours among their reſpective Friends and Kindred, ſo that in a few Months they had added to the Number of thoſe who they before were ſure of, a great many new Proſelytes to join in this Aſſociation.

It is acknowledged that Mr. MURRAY was indefatigable in promoting the Views of his Maſter, which were to engage the *Scots* to begin the Work, according to the old Proverb,

" He that would *England* win
" Muſt with *Scotland* firſt begin.

And one would have thought, indeed, that the dangerous and important Affair he was embark'd in, and the Fatigues both of Mind and Body he muſt neceſſarily go thro' in the Proſecution of it, ſhould have too much engroſs'd him to have left any room for Inclinations of that Sort we find he was poſſeſs'd of; for in the midſt of all the Embarraſsments of State Toil, Love and Nature came in for their Part.—He ſollicited and obtained the Affection of a young Lady every way worthy of him; they were married, and he had the Pleaſure of making

making her a Convert to his Principles, tho' educated in the Kirk.

This Change in his Condition, however, occaſioned not the leaſt Remiſsneſs in the Duties of his Poſt; he made it appear, that Love and Buſineſs are not Things incompatible, and that he could indulge the one, as much as a reaſonable Man ought, without any Prejudice to the other: Nor did the beautiful Partner of his Vows repine at the Share this only Rival had in his Heart, but on the contrary, was always ready to aid his Labours with all the Means in her Power. How much her Soul and all its wiſhes correſponded with her Huſband's, was afterward demonſtrated in the moſt publick Manner, when on the young *Chevalier*'s Landing ſhe forgot all the Delicacies of her Sex to accompany him through all the Fatigues and Hazards he met with, in following that pretended R——T.

Soon after the Birth of their firſt Child (which according to both their Wiſhes proved a Son) Mr. MURRAY receiv'd Diſpatches from *Rome* by the Way of *France*, ordering him to leave *Scotland* and go directly to *England*, where he would be met by Lord ELCHO and ſome others lately gain'd over to their Party, who were to bring Letters with them to ſeveral Perſons in this Kingdom. Who theſe Perſons are, or whether any ſuch Letters were ſent, or deliver'd, none but thoſe concern'd, can be certain.

It is notwithſtanding a known Truth, that Mr. MURRAY arrived at *London* much about the ſame time with Lord ELCHO, that they were very often together in Company with one of thoſe Gentlemen who was lately executed at *Kennington Common*, and ſeveral others who have made their Eſcape, and that frequent Cabals were held, ſometimes at one Place,

Place; and ſometimes at another. The little *Jacobites* who were not let into the Secret, yet knew enough to make them flatter themſelves that the End of their long Expectations was at hand, and that their P——— back'd by a powerful Army from *France* would be in *England* that Summer. Others beſides that Party likewiſe began to give Credit to what they fooliſhly brag'd of; nor was it the Policy of the Government to put a Stop to theſe Reports, ſince the more they gain'd Ground the more the Hands of the Miniſtry were ſtrengthen'd, and all the demanded Supplies granted with the greater Readineſs.–yet ſuch is the Stupidity of thoſe deluded People, that on the leaſt Proſpect of a Hope, tho' never ſo diſtant, or even the meer Shadow of one, Joy ſparkles in their Eyes, a thouſand ridiculous Chimera's of ſure and approaching Happineſs fills their Heads, and turns their Brains quite giddy, and unable to contain the mighty Tranſport; they run about from Houſe to Houſe exulting, and thus by anticipating the Triumph they expect to have over thoſe of a different Way of thinking, contribute to render abortive the very Meaſures they are ſo deſirous ſhould ſucceed. This is ſo known a Characteriſtic of that Party, that I believe none will think I have done them any Injuſtice in what I have ſaid; nor can even the ſenſible ones among themſelves deny it, many of whom I have ſeen bluſh with Shame and Anger at the idle Boaſts they had it not in their Power to ſilence.

As to what great Matters Mr. MURRAY was able to bring about in *England* for the Service of his Cauſe, we are yet in the Dark.--I can only judge by Conjecture, form'd from the Knowledge how much ſome Perſons, and thoſe not of an inferior Rank, had been diſguſted on the account of

H—— and the Partiality, it is ſaid, was ſhewn at the Battle of *Dettingen* to thoſe of that *E*———, thence, I ſay, a Gueſs, not altogether romantic, may be made, that, in the Heat of Reſentment, ſome things might be promis'd, which cooler Reaſon diſavow'd: —— However it were, Mr. MURRAY, after paſſing about eleven Months here, return'd to *Scotland*, and Lord ELCHO to *France*; and no Fruits appear'd of their Negotiation at that time, tho' I am very well convinc'd the grand Work of the late Commotion was at that time laid.

All the Hopes of an Invaſion in that Year, which was 1743, being now vaniſh'd into Air: *Cameron* of LOCHIEL after ſome Diſcourſe with Mr. MURRAY on the Poſition of their Affairs, went in Perſon to *France*; on his firſt Arrival there he found, or imagin'd that he found, the Reſtoration of the STEUART Family to the Throne of theſe Kingdoms, had one of the firſt Places in the Views of the Cabinet, but had Reaſon afterwards to change his Opinion, when he was told by Monſieur MAUREPAS and even by the *Cardinal* himſelf, That it was not yet a Time for ſuch an Attempt—— that the People of *England* were not yet ſufficiently convinc'd of the weight of a G—— Y—— that a few more Millions drain'd from them, for the Support of the Queen of *H*—— and the Princes who aſſiſted her ambitious Views—— a few more Battles, ſuch as —— and the continual Remittances made to ——, beſides the Payment of the Forces hired from that *E*——, with the Subſidies to *Denmark*, *Heſſe*, *Mentz*, and other Powers, wou'd, in a ſhort time make them feel the Miſeries entail'd upon them, and they wou'd then of themſelves, have Recourſe to the only Means of Redreſs,

and fly for Protection to the *P*—— they had been compell'd to abjure.

This was the Language of the Miniſtry of *France* at that time, which oblig'd LOCHIEL to return, very ill ſatisfy'd with his Journey —— Mr. MURRAY was alſo much diſcontented with the Account he receiv'd of the *French* Indifference; he did not fail, however, to keep up the Spirit of the Clans by all the Artifices he was capable of putting in Practice, which was all he then cou'd do.

The *Jacobite* Cauſe now appear'd with a bad Face to all thinking Perſons —— Mr. KELLY had met with a Rebuff from Cardinal TENCIN, which he did not expect, for urging that Matter too home, and one Monſieur D' AMERS was put into the *Baſtile*, for having ſaid in publick Company, that he knew his moſt *Chriſtian* Majeſty wou'd ſet the *Chevalier de* ST. GEORGE upon the Throne of his Anceſtors before *Eaſter*, which was then near at Hand. Yet notwithſtanding this, Couriers were frequently ſent from *Verſailles* to *Rome*, with Diſpatches full of Aſſurances of Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance both by the King and Miniſters.

Such a Method of Proceeding ſeem'd very odd not only to the Friends of the *Chevalier* but alſo to the *French* themſelves, who had not Penetration enough to diſcover the ſecret Wheel that ſet this Machine of State Policy in Motion —— the Truth is, ſome Overtures were then upon the Carpet between *France* and *England* through the Interpoſition of the *Dutch*, and while that Matter was in Agitation, the *Jacobite* Intereſt cou'd not be publicly eſpous'd by the Court of *France*, any more than be found convenient to drop it entirely, till the Effect of theſe ſecret Negotiations ſhould be ſeen.

It

It may be thought ſtrange, that an Artifice ſo often put in Practice ſhou'd not be ſeen through, or that Perſons ſo much concern'd, and withal ſo diſcerning as the *Chevalier de* ST. GEORGE, and his Sons are ſaid to be, can any longer be amuſed by it: But when one conſiders the unhappy Situation they are in, and that the very Shew of an Alliance with ſo great a Power, keeps the Spirit of their Party in theſe Kingdoms from flagging, it is not to be wonder'd at, that they ſeem to give Credit to thoſe vain Appearances —— I ſay *vain*, becauſe I think no one that has any notion of public Affairs, or knows any thing of the *French* in particular, can imagine it conſiſtent with the Policy they are ſo much fam'd for, to wiſh the Family of the STEUARTS in Poſſeſſion of the Throne of *Great Britain*; an Event which wou'd infallibly put a Stop to all the Schemes they have ſo ſucceſsfully purſued for upwards of Fifty Years. —— As it is certainly the Buſineſs, therefore of the *French* King, to amuſe the *Chevalier* with *fictious* Promiſes, ſo it is equally the Buſineſs of the *Chevalier* to counterfeit a Belief of their *Sincerity:* Since by treating them with the Contempt they truly merit, and which he doubtleſs feels for them, he could no way be a Gainer, and might loſe ſome Friends to his Cauſe, who are ſuch meerly by the Hopes of his receiving powerful Aſſiſtance from a Prince ſo able to give it.

This Secret Mr. MURRAY was very well convinced of, not only by the Converſations he had with thoſe in *England*, who were look'd upon as the moſt ſtanch Friends to the *Pretender*, but alſo from ſeveral of the *Highland* Chiefs, who told him plainly, that nothing could be done effectually without the Aſſiſtance of a *French* Army. —— This

put every thing to a Stand, the Hopes and Expectations of the whole Party every-where were growing languid, and Mr. MURRAY himſelf knew not what to think, when all on a ſudden he was recall'd to *Rome*, and commanded to acquaint the Clans before his Departure, that the great Deſign was now on the Point of being executed. This he punctually obey'd, and then left *Scotland* and his Wife big of her ſecond Child.

Mr. KELLY, who had been ſent on the Part of the *Chevalier* with a very important Commiſſion to the Court of *Spain*, was juſt then return'd to *Paris*, when Mr. MURRAY arrived there in his Way to *Rome*; which happen'd very lucky, as they might communicate to each other the Succeſs of their ſeveral Negotiations, and conſult upon the Whole much better than by Writing.—Mr. KELLY told him, that he ſhou'd ſoon follow him to *Rome* in order to attend the pretended P— R— T to *Scotland*, where he wou'd certainly be in the Beginning of the Summer.— Both theſe Gentlemen were now highly careſs'd by the *French* Miniſtry, and Mr. MURRAY had the Opportunity of conferring a great Obligation on the *Cardinal*, by taking the Charge of ſome fine Jewels ſent as a Preſent to one of his Kindred at *Rome*, which he accordingly deliver'd on his Arrival there.

The Court of the *Chevalier* was now encreaſed by the Coming of Mr. SULLIV'N and Mr. O'NEIL, both of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, but had been ſome time in the *Spaniſh* Service, where they had conſiderable Commands, eſpecially the former, who having the Reputation of being one of the moſt experienc'd Generals they had, the parting with him was look'd upon as no ſmall Mark of the Good-will that Court had to the STEUART Family.

Great

Great Preparations were now making for the propoſed Expedition, which, as before it was reſolv'd, ſhou'd be begun in *Scotland*,——The Scheme was this,——The eldeſt Son of the *Pretender* was to land in the Highlands, and head the Clans,—— the Lord JOHN DRUMMOND, with ſome *Iriſh* Brigades to the Number of Two thouſand Five hundred effective Men, was to make a Deſcent on the more Southward Part of that Kingdom, and be ready to join the young *Chevalier*, and march directly to *Edinburgh*. —— Twelve thouſand *French* under the Command of Some-body, for no General was ever nominated, were to pour into *Wales* at the ſame time, and join themſelves to what *Engliſh* Friends they ſhou'd find there and in the Counties adjacent, take what Towns they cou'd in their Way to *Mancheſter*, and there to wait the Coming of the pretended P——, who it was not to be doubted, wou'd by that time be Maſter of all *Scotland*.

Viſionary as this Project may appear To-day, I tremble to think what might have been the Conſequence had it been put in Execution with the ſame Vigour it was concerted, at a Time when His ajeſty, the Duke, and moſt of our Forces were abroad, an inconſiderable Part of the Navy on the Coaſts, the Parliament not Sitting, many of the Privy Council, and all the Country Gentlemen retired to their Seats, the Militia of the Counties and *London* wholly unprepared: They then, I ſay, had certainly ſuch a Chance of ſubjecting us, as it is to be hoped they will never have again; and the viſible Neglect *France* ſhew'd of an Opportunity ſo favourable to the Views ſhe had all along pretended, ſufficiently proves what I before advanc'd, that her Miniſters have in Reality nothing leſs at Heart.

How

How far the repeated Assurances given by Monsieur the *Cardinal* TENCIN, and even confirm'd by his most *Christian* Majesty's own Hand, might now gain Credit at the Court of *Santi Apostoli* I am not sure; but no Shew of the contrary appear'd either in Words or Actions; and Mr. KELLY told Mr. MURRAY in Confidence, That he was now convinced *France* was sincere in her Professions, and that before he left *Paris*, he had actually seen the Orders signed by Monsieur d'ARGENSON, for the Transports to be in readiness for the Embarkation of the Troops destin'd for this Expedition.

It was in *January* 1745, that the two Sons of the *Chevalier* took leave of him and *Rome*; for the youngest would by no Means be left behind, tho' all he could have urg'd had been ineffectual to have prevail'd on his Father to hazard his whole Stock at one Cast, if he had not bound himself by Oath to accompany his Brother no farther than *France*, and not to quit that Kingdom without first receiving his Permission so to do.

I am told the Parting between these young Gentlemen and their Father was very affecting, and drew Tears from the Eyes of most who were present at it; the R —— as he was call'd, said among other remarkable Things; *I go*, Sir, *in Search of three* C—s, *which I doubt but to have the Honour and Happiness of laying at your M———'s Feet: If I fail in the Attempt your next sight of me shall be in my Coffin.* At these Words the *Chevalier* became unable to preserve that Moderation he had assum'd on so trying an Occasion;—the Grief his Heart was big with, in Spite of his Endeavours, discover'd itself in his Countenance, and he burst into this Exclamation—*Heaven forbid! that all the* C—s *in the World should rob me of my Son*—then tenderly

tenderly embracing him---*Be careful of yourſelf my dear* P——, added he, *for my Sake, and I hope, for the Sake of Millions.*

There is no Queſtion to be made but that Nature work'd very ſtrongly in Perſons ſo near and dear to one another, at a Separation which they knew not but might be eternal, and it is likely enough they might expreſs themſelves in theſe very Words, which I have repeated, as they were told to me by one who averr'd, he heard them from Mr. MURRAY's own Mouth.

The Generals SULLIVAN and O'NEIL, with the two Secretaries KELLY and MURRAY, and ſeveral other Gentlemen, beſide a large Retinue of Domeſtick Officers and Servants, attended the young Adventurer and his Brother into *France*; tho' they did not make their Entry according to their ſuppos'd Dignity, it being thought more proper for them to remain incog at the Duke *de* BOUILLION's, who is their near Relation. The eldeſt, however, had frequent Conferences with his moſt *Chriſtian* Majeſty in his Cloſet; few Days paſs'd without a Viſit from the Cardinal, Monſieur d'ARGENSON, Monſieur *de* MAUREPAS, and all the other Miniſters--Great Aſſurances were doubtleſs given of the promis'd Aid, but with what Sincerity was proved by the Event.

Several Weeks before the Time prefix'd for the young *Chevalier*'s embarking, Mr. MURRAY was ſent to *Scotland*, to warn the *Highland* Chiefs to be in Readineſs, that is to provide what Arms, Ammunition and other Neceſſaries might be requiſite for their Followers, whenever they ſhould be call'd together, but when that would be, or on what Occaſion, was to be kept a Secret from them, till the Landing of their P——, whom, notwithſtanding,

ſtanding they were taught to idolize without knowing. Moſt of the Heads of the Clans, with ſome few others who were entruſted with the Affair, aſſembled themſelves at *Aberdeen*, in order to receive him, it being expected he would land there, as he indeed intended, and had told Mr. MURRAY; but an *Engliſh* Man of War falling in with the *French* Man that was his Convoy, the Veſſel he was in, which was only a ſmall Frigate, took the Opportunity of the two great Ships being engag'd to ſcud away before the Wind, which happen'd to be fair for them, and blew a freſh Gale, and made the Shore by a little Creek near the Lands of LOCHIEL, whoſe Houſe was the firſt the young *Chevalier* went into—A violent Fit of the Gout having hinder'd him from meeting the Party at *Aberdeen*, he was at home, and greatly ſurprized at ſuch a Gueſt, but more ſo at ſeeing him ſo thinly attended, the *Marqueſs* of TULLIBARDINE, SULLIVAN, O NEIL, KELLY, and three other Gentlemen, whoſe Names I do not know, being all, except Servants, and of thoſe but a few, that came on Shore with him.

A ſpecial Meſſenger, however, was immediately diſpatch'd to *Aberdeen*, with Intelligence of what had happen'd, on which Mr. MURRAY and the Chiefs that were there repair'd directly to LOCKHIEL'S:—It would be altogether impertinent to enter into any Particulars of the Joy with which he was receiv'd, not only by them, but by the meaneſt and moſt common of the Clans under them, as ſoon as he appear'd in Publick: The Behaviour of all, and the manner of the Death of moſt of theſe deluded People, has but too fatally proved the Zeal and Firmneſs of their Attachment to him. The Standard was ſet up, and great Numbers

flock'd

flock'd to it, beſides ſuch who had been inſtigated to it by thoſe whom they think it the higheſt Crime to diſobey; ſo that in a ſhort Time a little Camp was form'd among the Hills. —— His pretended Claim,——his fine Perſon,——his Affability, and above all, his putting on the *Highland* Dreſs, marching at the Head of his Infantry, and being the firſt to plunge into any River they were to paſs, when moved farther to a more commodious Ground, charm'd them to ſuch a Degree, that I believe there was ſcarce a Man among them that wou'd not have readily run on certain Death, if by it his Cauſe might have receiv'd any Advantage; but as their Lives were of much greater Service, they teſtified their Love and Admiration of him by Huzza's and Acclamations that even rent the Sky, whenever they ſaw him, and by making Songs in his Praiſe, and ſinging them among themſelves when they ſaw him not.

Nor was it only ſuch who, bred remote from Courts, are apt to be dazzled with every Object beyond what they have been accuſtom'd to ſee, that teſtified their Affection for him; the Lords LEWIS GORDON, STRATHALLAN, OGILVYE, and others, avow'd his Cauſe from the firſt Moment they heard he had ſet Foot in *Scotland*, and threw themſelves at his Feet, with all the Forces they were able to raiſe.

To ſtrengthen their Expectations, Two Ships from *France* brought a large Quantity of Ammunition, and ſeveral Officers, among whom were the Two MACDONALDS, Lord ELCHO, and GLENGYLE, whom Mr. MURRAY had wrought upon the preceding Year to go to *France*, in order to be convinc'd of the Aſſiſtance they were promis'd; ——The Duke of *Perth* alſo, with his People, now

join'd the *Highland* Army, and ſeveral other Clans who had not ſign'd the Aſſociation; but as it is not a Journal of the *Pretender*'s Succeſſes, but Memoirs of Mr. MURRAY, I am writing; I ſhall paſs over every thing in which that Gentleman had not an immediate Concern.

Many Perſons of the firſt Quality in *Scotland*, as well as Gentlemen and others, daily engag'd themſelves in this deſtructive Cauſe; but there was yet wanting a certain Nobleman whom, indeed, to gain was gaining every thing. — Mr. MURRAY knowing him perſonally, undertook to be the Bearer of a Letter to him from the young Chevalier, and herein run a Riſque, which ſhew'd, that no Dangers cou'd deter him from doing even more than the Duties of the Poſt he was in, oblig'd him to.

This Nobleman was then at *Edinburgh*, and the Army encamp'd near *Innerlocky*; ſo that he had a Journey upwards of Eighty Miles, and muſt of Neceſſity paſs through ſome Places where he was ſenſible the Cauſe he eſpous'd had more Enemies than Friends; and as his own Principles were now as well known as his Perſon had long been to them, had enough to dread from their Reſentment, in caſe he were ſeen by any of them. — The Importance of the Buſineſs however, and the Imagination that the Letter he was charg'd with from his Maſter, with the Arguments he himſelf ſhould be able to urge, wou'd have the ſo much deſired Effect, made him overlook all the Difficulties attending ſuch an Expedition.

But as it behooved him to take all poſſible Precaution, he diſguis'd himſelf with a black Periwig, rode muffled up in his Cloak, took with him only one Servant whom he had lately hired in the *Highlands*, ſtop'd at no great Town, and contented himſelf

himſelf with ſuch Refreſhment as he cou'd find in the moſt obſcure and wretched Huts in his Way.

Fortune favour'd him in the Attempt, tho' not in the Execution of his Commiſſion: He met with no ill Accident, nor ſuffer'd any thing but Fatigue in this Journey, which notwithſtanding he found it impracticable wholly to accompliſh. —— He was within Eight or Nine Miles of *Edinburgh* when he met a Gentleman on Horſeback, whom he immediately knew to be a Dependant on the Nobleman in Queſtion; —— as they had been School-fellows, and always preſerv'd an Intimacy, Mr. MURRAY made no Scruple of diſcovering himſelf to him, and alſo the Buſineſs which had brought him to that Part of the Kingdom; —— the other appear'd very much ſtartled, and conjured him, as he valued either his own Liberty, or the Intereſt of the Cauſe he was engag'd in, to turn back directly. —— He told him, that he was poſitive as to the Inflexibility of his Lord in this Point, —— that he was deſirous of nothing more than to cruſh the Rebellion before it grew to the Height which might be expected, and had ſent to *England* for Permiſſion to arm all his Vaſſals for that Purpoſe; which Permiſſion wou'd doubtleſs arrive very ſhortly, and He, Mr. MURRAY wou'd then ſee him in the Field as an Enemy, but muſt never hope to do ſo as a Friend.

This Intelligence, which he knew he might depend on the Truth of, ſtruck a very great Damp on Mr. MURRAY's Spirits. —— He found it wou'd be meer Madneſs to attempt the Delivery of the Letter in Perſon, as he ſhou'd infallibly be ſeized, and what he brought, laid before the Council; the Conſequence of which it was eaſy to foreſee.

Mr. MURRAY on theſe Conſiderations was prevail'd upon to turn back, tho' with an akeing Heart, for the Impoſſibility he found there was, of drawing into their Intereſt a Perſon of ſuch high Importance to it, both in *England* as well as *Scotland* —— The Journey his Friend was taking lay Part of his Way, and all the Time they rode together was paſt in the one's endeavouring to convince the other, in the Laudibility of their different Principles, tho' equally in vain: Not that this Man was in his Heart, as he confeſs'd to Mr. MURRAY, any Enemy to the Perſon of the Chevalier or his Claim: He acknowleged the many fine Qualities in the one, and did not deny the Legality of the other; but made uſe of the uſual Arguments, that a Subverſion of the preſent Government muſt inevitably occaſion great Confuſions, and that the Body of the People had a Right to chooſe whom they pleas'd to reign over them; and that till they were unanimous in deſiring a Change, it was not only an unwarrantable but likewiſe an hair-brain'd Act of Stupidity in a few bigotted Zealots, to attempt a Change. —— *The Truth is*, to uſe Mr. MURRAY's own Words when relating this Affair to Mr. HUNTLEY, who had married one of his Siſters, *this Man had Self-intereſt at the Bottom; he enjoy'd a ſmall Poſt, and the Favour of a great Man, both which he was loth to hazard for any precarious Advantages.*

It might, indeed, be ſo, as many Men are honeſt more through Intereſt than Principle; but that muſt be left to the Deciſion of that Supreme Judge who alone knows the Heart. —— Mr. MURRAY, however, was as little ſatisfied with his Converſation, as he was with the Account he had given him of his Patron's Fidelity to the Royal Family

which

which now governs. — Happy, however, was it for him at that time, that they happen'd to meet ſo opportunely; and yet infinitely more happy had it been, if he cou'd have been prevail'd on to follow the Advice then given him.

His ſpeedy Return, and the Motive which occaſion'd it, cou'd not be very pleaſing to the young R———T; — but he had yet greater Things to diſcompoſe him: The expected Succours from *France*, under the Command of Lord JOHN DRUMMOND were not arriv'd, nor even embark'd, tho' many Days were paſt ſince that which had been prefix'd for their Sailing: — A large Veſſel, with ſeveral Officers in *Fitz-James*'s Regiment on board, was taken by an *Engliſh* Man of War, and another with ſome Pieces of Canon and a Cheſt of Money, other Officers, and Mr. RATCLIFF and his Son, by an *Iriſh* Privateer: To add to all this, there was a continual Murmuring among the *Highland* Chiefs; each, jealous of the other, grudg'd even a Smile beſtow'd on any but himſelf, and all in general envied the Credit that SULLIVAN and O'NEIL had with him; tho' they were, indeed, Men whom they knew, it wou'd be highly inconvenient for him to diſoblige; Men who had quitted conſiderable Poſts for his Service, and Men who, doubtleſs, by their inviolable Attachment as well as perſonal Bravery and Skill, deſerved all the Favour they receiv'd. It muſt, therefore, be own'd, that he had a very hard Game to play, and he cou'd not well give a greater Proof of his Abilities of Governing, than that, in his Situation, he was able to maintain any tollerable Decorum among them, or ſecure them firm to his Intereſt; ſince it is a known Truth, that whatever Diſagreement they had among themſelves, not one

of

of all those numerous Leaders drew off their Followers, or discover'd the least Inclination to abandon him.

But all these Difficulties did not put a Stop to the vigorous Prosecution of the Design he had undertaken: His little Army at *Inverlocky* consisted but of Three thousand Seven hundred Men, Officers excepted, yet had he the Courage to march Southwards: His Standard was erected at every Town they halted at, and the *Declaration* of the old *Chevalier* and the *Manifesto* of his Son read, which encreas'd his Numbers very considerably; —— but several of the *Kirk* having made some Objections to the *Manifesto*, as not containing sufficient Assurances for the Security of their Manner of Divine Worship, a Grand Council was held concerning what Alterations were proper to be made for the Satisfaction of those People.——Mr. KELLY, who had drawn it up, seem'd very tenacious of the Performance; but the greatest Part of those present, at first were of Opinion, that it wou'd have a better Effect, if a Promise was inserted of putting the Penal Laws against *Papists* in full Force. The young *Chevalier* was observ'd to change Countenance a little at this Motion, doubtless, thinking it wou'd be ungrateful to depress too much a People who had, on all Occasions, been such real Friends to his Father; he had the Prudence, however, to keep his Thoughts on this Occasion, whatever they were, to himself, and spoke very little during the whole Debate, which lasted a considerable Time, and was urg'd with a good deal of Warmth on both Sides the Question: ——It was pretty remarkable that the Duke of *Perth*, SULLIVAN, and O'NEII, who are all *Papists*, gave their Votes for this Addition to be inserted; and several

of

of thoſe who are known to be of the reform'd Church oppoſed it: Lord GEORGE MURRAY, in particular, expreſs'd himſelf with great Vehemence upon it, inſomuch, that perceiving the Matter was like to be carry'd by thoſe of a contrary Opinion, he ſtarted up, and turning to the R——T, ſaid, *Sir, if you permit this Article to be inſerted, by G—d you loſe five hundred thouſand Friends*; meaning there were that Number of *Papiſts* in *England*. On this the P——, as he was call'd, roſe from his Chair, and withdrew; whether to conceal his real Sentiments, or that he was offended with the Boldneſs of this Nobleman's Speech, is uncertain; but it ſeems he only ſaid, as he left the Room, *I will have it decided by a Majority:* Which proving afterwards to be on the Negative, the *Manifeſto* remain'd unalter'd.

Mr. MURRAY ſaid to ſome of his Friends, when they were diſcourſing on this Affair, that he trembled more for the Conſequence of this Debate than he had ever done for any thing in his whole Life; becauſe as the Negotiations he had been employ'd in at *London*, and ſeveral other Parts of *England*, had convinc'd him how numerous a Body the *Papiſts* were, he dreaded the Effect ſuch an Article wou'd have on them, had it been inſerted; and added, He was ſurpriz'd any Friends to his Maſter's Intereſt cou'd make the Motion, ſince the Words of the *Manifeſto* ſeem'd to be already ſufficiently ſtrong for the Security of all Proteſtants, of what Denomination ſoever.

For the Truth of this Obſervation, I muſt refer my Reader to the *Manifeſto* itſelf; having, I confeſs, never had the Opportunity of ſeeing it: But it is eaſy to believe from the Behaviour of the *Papiſts* ever ſince the Rebellion broke out, that the

the Contents of it are no way flattering to People of that Perſuaſion; ſince of thoſe who went over to the *Chevalier*'s Party, or any way aſſiſted him, not one in Fifty profeſs the *Roman Catholic* Religion: And ſome of the moſt ſenſible ones among them have been heard to ſay, That they had no Reaſon to wiſh a Prince upon the Throne, who, if he were inclin'd to treat them with Lenity, wou'd not dare to do it; for Fear of being thought to favour them too much.

I cannot help ſaying, that their Sentiments on this Score appear to have ſomewhat of Juſtice in them, and alſo at the ſame time obſerving the odd Circumſtance of the young *Pretender*'s Fate, whom to render unhappy, even the moſt oppoſite Extremes agree, and in a Manner unite againſt him: —— The *Proteſtants* abjure his Claim on a Suſpicion of his being a *Papiſt*, and the *Papiſts* diſavow it, on a Perſuaſion that he is a *Proteſtant*;—— But however that be, it is no Buſineſs of ours, who are truly happy under the preſent Eſtabliſhment, in the illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*, and labour under no Grievance which ſhould occaſion us to wiſh a Revolution.

There is no occaſion to mention the particular Motions of the *Highland* Army as they march'd toward *Edinburgh*; the Subject of theſe Memoirs having nothing remarkable happening to him during that ſurpriſing Progreſs, wherein their Number encreas'd daily, and all the Towns in their Way were either took by them, or ſurrender'd on their Summons, as was alſo the City of *Edinburgh* itſelf.

Lord GEORGE DRUMMOND at length arriv'd, tho' not with the full Complement expected; the Forces he brought however, with a Detachment under the Command of Lord LEWIS GORDON,

were

were ſent to *Hamilton* and *Glaſgow*, while the main Body of the Army encamp'd near *Edinburgh*. The Caſtle not having ſurrender'd, they laid ſiege to it in form, and erected ſeveral Batteries againſt it; but ſoon found the Strength and Situation wou'd admit no Hope of taking it by Storm, and that the only Way to become Maſters of it was to prevent all Communication with the Town, by which means they wou'd be oblig'd to capitulate, or periſh through the Want of Proviſions. This they found a Way to do, and alſo to ſtop the Pipes ſo that no Water cou'd be convey'd, which put Colonel GUEST, who was then Governor, under great Diſtreſs.——He was reſolv'd, notwithſtanding, not to yield on any Conditions; and ſent Word to the pretended R——T, that if he wou'd not permit Proviſions to be brought in, and open the Water-pipes, that the Caſtle might be ſupply'd as uſual, he wou'd play his Canon from the Walls, and batter down the Town.

This Menace dreadfully alarm'd the Inhabitants, and ſeveral of the principal ones went in a Body to the Palace of *Holyrood*, and proſtrating themſelves at the Feet of the pretended R——T, beſeech'd him to commiſerate their Condition, and not expoſe that ancient City to be deſtroy'd.—— He appear'd very much moved with their Remonſtrances, and no ſooner had heard what they had to ſay on the Occaſion, than he bid them go home and be eaſy; the Governor's Demands ſhou'd be comply'd with, and an immediate Communication open'd. On which they return'd, extolling and praiſing the Grace they had receiv'd, as they had indeed great Reaſon.

But this Clemency gave high Diſpleaſure to moſt of thoſe about him: They labour'd with all

their Might to prevail on him to recal the Orders he had given: They repreſented to him, that the beating down a few old Buildings was not to be put in Competition with reducing a Place of ſuch Importance as *Edinburgh* Caſtle: That the Loſs ſome particular Perſons might ſuſtain, and which might afterward be repair'd, ought not to interfere with what was for the Good of the Whole: That this very Condeſcention wou'd, by his Enemies, be call'd a Weakneſs, and that no Prince or General ever gave ſuch a Preſident.——*They or you*, reply'd he, with more Sterneſs than they had ever ſeen in him before, *may term it as they pleaſe; but in this I am determin'd to be obey'd.*—*Beſides, what might be a Virtue in another Perſon, or in other Circumſtances, wou'd be a Vice in me.* — *Remember I come to* ſave, *not to* deſtroy; — *and how much ſoever I may loſe, the Child is mine, and I wou'd ſooner thuſe to yield my Right in it, than ſuffer it ſhou'd be mangled before my Face* *.

Thus was the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* reliev'd, to the great Surprize of all who heard by what means, and even of thoſe for whoſe Sake it was done, who, tho' they petition'd for it, cou'd not flatter themſelves with being able to obtain a Grant. Thoſe alſo that did not ſee into the real Motive, thought it no leſs ſtrange that the Army ſtill lay before the Caſtle, as now there was not the leaſt Probability of taking it; but the Truth of this Matter as I have heard, is, that the young *Pretender* did it only to amuſe the World, being deſirous to remain at *Edinburgh* till the *French*, as had been agreed upon in the before-mention'd Stipulation, ſhould be

* Alluding to the Story of *Solomon* and the two Harlots.

ready to make a Deſcent on *England*; but the long Delay of that expected Fleet occaſion'd him ſo much Vexation, as was not even in the Power of his Succeſs in the Battle of *Preſton-Pans* wholly to alleviate.

Mr. KELLY was ſent in the mean time to *France* to expedite that Affair; but the Accounts he ſent concerning the Effect of his Negotiation were no way ſatisfactory; tho' one Monſieur BOYERE came in Quality of an Ambaſſador to *Scotland*, and ſeveral Ships continually drop'd in with Arms, Ammunition, Money, and ſome few Officers; but whether all come on the Part of his moſt *Chriſtian Majeſty*, or from a leſs ſuſpected Quarter, is uncertain, Mr. MURRAY having always maintain'd an inviolable Secrecy on that Head. All that ever his Friends cou'd gather from him, at leaſt as I find, was that the P——, as he call'd him, had borrow'd Four hundred thouſand Pounds of the Bank of *Genoa*, all which he had expended on this Expedition; beſides very near the ſame Sum which had been bequeath'd to him by his Uncle Prince JAMES SOBIESKY; and another, no inconſiderable one, which his Father had long been hoarding. Had the above-mention'd Succours however come from whatſoever Power, they had been of infinitely more Service in a Body, than as they were.

In fine, growing impatient at the trifling Excuſes made by the Court of *France*, and finding themſelves Seven thouſand ſtrong, it was propoſed in a Council of War to march into *England*, without Regard to the too long expected Signal of a Landing of the *French*: This Motion was carried, tho' by no more than one Voice, and they accordingly left *Scotland*.

So bold a Step had doubtleſs never been taken, if they had not thought themſelves certain of being join'd by a great Power, which ſome hot-headed Malecontents had made them hope; but if any ſuch Deſign was ever form'd, or ſuch Promiſe made, as no one beſides the Parties themſelves concern'd can pretend to aver, it certainly was only conditional, that whenever they ſaw a *French* Army on the Coaſt, they would favour the Invaſion; ſince nothing was more publickly ſaid by thoſe who were known to be moſt vehement *Jacobites*, than that they never could be ſatisfy'd with having a King impos'd upon them by the *Scots* —— Theſe Jealouſies it was that obſtructed many of the young *Pretender*'s Schemes both in *Scotland* and *England*, and gave thoſe whoſe Puſillanimity alone, perhaps, kept from joining with him, a Kind of Pretence for their Inactivity in this Juncture.

It afforded, indeed, ſufficient Matter of Aſtoniſhment, that, after all Expectations of Aſſiſtance from *France* were over, this young Adventurer had either the Courage to penetrate ſo far as *Derby*, or the Skill and good Fortune to make ſo honourable a Retreat; a Theme which, ſetting aſide his Cauſe, might in Reality deſerve and employ the Pen of a Second *Xenophon*, tho' pretty much obſcur'd by our Intelligence in the public Papers.—Nothing can be more obvious than that the Intrepidity with which he behaved on this Occaſion, gain'd him many perſonal Friends among thoſe who before were not ſo, and eſtabliſh'd him a Reputation among his Enemies, which perhaps Time itſelf will never be able to efface.

Thus much Juſtice obliges me to ſay of one, who tho' I cannot but look upon as an Invader of my Country, and the Source of many Calamities, which

theſe

theſe Nations groan under, and are likely to feel for a long Succeſſion of Time,——Heaven only knows how long,——yet I cannot but allow him to have Virtues enough to make one wiſh him ſucceſsful in any other Attempt, than that he lately undertook.

But to return to Mr. MURRAY, who we may ſuppoſe was not idle in executing the Duties of his Function, and had nothing elſe to attend while the Army was in *England*, but which it is eaſy to believe were enough to engroſs all his Thoughts and Time; Mr. KELLY continuing all the while in *France*, and the whole Buſineſs lying wholly on him.

The Battle of *Falkirk* ſerved very much to renew that Spirit in them all, which their having been oblig'd to quit *England* had ſomewhat depreſs'd.——More Friends came to them, and their Number was ſo much encreas'd, that dividing themſelves into Parties, they made Four whole Counties entirely their own, and cou'd call themſelves Maſters of one third at leaſt of that Kingdom.

The continual Fatigues of Mind and Body Mr. MURRAY underwent, threw him into a languiſhing Diſorder, which had all the Symptoms of a Conſumption; yet did he ſtill apply himſelf to Buſineſs even when he was ſcarce able to hold a Pen in his Hand. Nature however was at length compell'd to yield, and he grew ſo extremely ill, that when the Camp was at *Inverneſs*, the young *Pretender*, who had all the Value for him, his Fidelity and Abilities deſerv'd from him, would needs have him removed farther into the Country, where it was thought a more clear Air would contribute to his Recovery. Mrs. MURRAY, as well as Lady OGILVYE, Lady STRATHALLEN, Lady FORTROSE,

Lady

Lady MACKINTOSH, Lady CLANRONALD, and many more Women of Quality and Condition, who had borne their Husbands or other Relations company in all their Dangers and Fatigues, join'd her Perſuaſions to the pretended R——T's Commands, in ſuch a Manner as not to be denied; and they left *Inverneſs* together, and retired to the Houſe of a Gentleman about Twelve Miles diſtant.——All cou'd be urg'd being inſufficient to prevail on this faithful and affectionate Servant to go to any Place where Intelligence of all that paſs'd cou'd not be every Day brought to him.

The Duke of *Cumberland* being then at *Aberdeen*, whence it was expected he wou'd ſpeedily march to attack the Rebels at *Inverneſs*, made them continue there much longer than was for their Intereſt, in order to receive him; but, contrary to the Reports which were daily ſpread of his Royal Highneſs's intended Removal, he kept his Quarters there, till the young *Chevalier* having no longer Patience to remain in that inactive State, quitted *Inverneſs*, and again dividing his Army into ſeveral Parties, attack'd and took many Places which before had ſtood out againſt him.——Mr. MURRAY would by no means yield to be left behind, and conſtantly follow'd in a Litter that Diviſion where his Maſter was in Perſon, nor ever left Sight of him till the deciſive Battle of *Culloden* made a laſting Separation.

That good Intelligence the young *Chevalier* had been accuſtom'd to receive now fail'd him, when it was moſt neceſſary.——Being made to believe the Duke was at a much greater Diſtance than he was in Effect, thoſe Diviſions were not recalled and reunited in a proper Time: The Duke of *Perth*, with thoſe under his Command, was Two Miles off, the Earl of *Cromarty* with a conſiderable Detach-

Detachment yet farther, and Lord GEORGE MURRAY beyond them all, when the Battle begun, and for Time was ſuſtain'd with great Bravery, by a Number very unequal to thoſe they had to oppoſe: The Duke of *Perth* and the Earl of *Cromarty* came up, indeed, with all the Speed they could; but the Affair was too far gone, and this fighting Piece-meal, as I may call it, only involv'd them all in the common Deſtruction, one after another.——The young *Chevalier* rode himſelf to meet Lord GEORGE MURRAY, hoping by this Reinforcement to redeem all yet; as he paſs'd by the Litter where Mr. MURRAY was, he only ſaid *en paſſant*,——MURRAY, *I fear we are undone, I have but one more Effort to make*;——*however, do not you ſtay here.*——This was the laſt Time he ſaw him; but ſoon after found that Lord GEORGE MURRAY, by ſome Miſtake in the Orders, or what elſe muſt be left to time to unfold, had taken another Rout with all the Party under his Command; and what became of the young *Chevalier*, nor indeed of any of the Commanders, he could not, of a long while, learn: Only in general, that many of them had fled, many were kill'd, many taken Priſoners, and the whole Army intirely defeated.

The Duke's Forces eager in Purſuit, ſtop'd not to regard the Baggage, which gave Mr. MURRAY the Opportunity of getting out of his Litter, and concealing himſelf under the Covert of a Mountain, weak as he was, reſolving rather to die for Want of Aſſiſtance, than become a Priſoner if he cou'd any way avoid it.

What Hardſhips he endur'd are impoſſible to be conceiv'd, much leſs can they be deſcrib'd:—— But any one may ſuppoſe them to be exceeding great, wandering from Mountain to Mountain, having

having no Manner of Suſtenance to ſupport Nature; — no Bed, Couch, nor even Chair to reſt upon; no Covering to protect him from the Inclemency of the Air; oppreſs'd with the moſt poynant Grief of Heart, and withal diſabled by Sickneſs from ſtruggling, as he might otherwiſe have done, with all theſe various Miſeries.

For Two whole Days, and as many Nights, he remain'd in this wretched Condition; till finding the Coaſt pretty clear, he ventur'd to go toward the Houſe of a Gentleman, in whoſe Friendſhip he had great Confidence: In his Way thither his Sight was ſtruck with the moſt diſmal Objects, Numbers of his Countrymen, who had fallen into the Purſuer's Hands, all cover'd over with Wounds; ſome dead, and others gaſping in the moſt terrible Agonies. — The Condition himſelf was in, made him imagine he ſhou'd follow them in a little Time; yet cou'd he not forbear lamenting over them, forgetful for a Moment of his own ſad State, and might poſſibly much longer have indulg'd the Emotions of his Grief, if he had not fancy'd he heard the trampling of Horſes; which Apprehenſion made him quit that Scene of Horror as faſt as the ſmall Share of Strength he was Maſter of wou'd permit: Nothing being ſo dreadful to him as being taken Priſoner; but had the Danger of it been real, as it prov'd only imaginary, little wou'd it have been in his Power to have eſcap'd it.

At laſt tho' with unſpeakable Difficulty having fallen down ſeveral Times, he walk'd, or rather crept, to the Place where he expected both Shelter and Refreſhment, as long as his Wants ſhou'd require either.

But on his Arrival he found himſelf flatter'd with a vain Hope even in this, as well as he had

been

been in greater Things; not that the Perſon from whom he ſought Protection wou'd not readily, nay have been glad to have afforded it; but there were ſo many Parties of Soldiers continually patrolling, and ſearching all the Houſes in that Part of the Country, that it was judg'd wholly unſafe either for himſelf, or thoſe who conceal'd him, to tarry for any Length of Time in one Place. —— He was, however, receiv'd and entertain'd with all imaginable Kindneſs for Three Days, which were all he ventured to paſs there.

Fain wou'd he here have been inform'd of the Particulars of the young *Chevalier*'s Defeat, and where he had taken Refuge; but they were as ignorant of them as himſelf, and cou'd only tell him ſomewhat more plainly what he had heard confuſed Murmurs of, before he got out of the Litter.

He then reſolv'd to have Recourſe for a ſhort Aſylum, to a Perſon who had been Steward to his Father, and for that Reaſon might be ſuppos'd to be ready to ſerve him, in an Exigence wherein his Life was concern'd, tho' far from having any Good-will to the Party he was engag'd in: But this Perſon living Thirteen Miles off, a Space of Ground which Mr. MURRAY was utterly unable to walk, or to ride on Horſeback; a great Difficulty was found in getting him convey'd thither, till the Gentlewoman of the Houſe, as Women are generally more fertile in Invention than Men, hit on the following Expedient:

Two honeſt Country Fellows, who did Buſineſs for them in Harveſt-time, took a Feather-bed and a ſufficient Covering: This they were to carry by Turns; and when Mr. MURRAY had walk'd as far as he was able, then to lay it down for him

to reſt upon, while they watch'd to give him Notice of any Danger.

This Stratagem ſucceeded, and he arriv'd ſafely, and as he has ſince ſaid, better in Health than he had been for ſome Months. —— Here he was treated with the greateſt Tenderneſs, took all Remedies proper for his Diſorder, and recover'd his Strength of Body in a ſurpriſing Manner, conſidering how deeply his Mind muſt be affected with the Loſs of all his Hopes, and the Uncertainty of his pretended P——'s Fate; as alſo what might have befallen his Wife, who was then pregnant a Third Time. All the Enquiry that cou'd be made, was made for his Satisfaction; but no Account cou'd be obtain'd of either of thoſe dear Perſons, or of ſeveral others, whoſe Preſervation after them he was the moſt anxious for. He was told, indeed, that ſome had the good Fortune to get into a Veſſel, and had put off to Sea; but who thoſe Perſons were, he cou'd by no Means procure Intelligence.

With this Friend, who, indeed, was truly ſuch, in Spite of the Difference of Principles, which too often turns the greateſt Affection into Hatred, did he continue for Five Weeks; aud had done ſo longer, if Word had not been brought of the Approach of a Company of Dragoons, who were order'd to examine every Houſe and Perſon they found in their Way.

This Intelligence oblig'd Mr. MURRAY to depart with all Speed; not only for his own Sake, but that of the Perſon's who had given him Shelter, and who now began to be very much alarm'd, as they had good Reaſon: The leaſt they cou'd have expected, on his being found there, was the Plundering of their Houſe, perhaps ſetting it on

Fire,

Fire, and turning themſelves and Family naked on the Mountains, as Numbers * * * * * * * even on a Suſpicion of ſhewing Charity to thoſe unhappy Wretches who had eſcap'd the Sword, and were near periſhing through Cold and Hunger.

It wou'd be too tedious to repeat the many Dangers and almoſt unſupportable Hardſhips he was in, after he left this Houſe, —— wandering ſometimes one Way, ſometimes another, to avoid being ſeen by any of thoſe numerous Parties, which he now found were traverſing the Country round, in Search of the *Pretender*, who it was imagin'd was ſtill ſomewhere thereabout: ——The Demands of Nature forç'd him to ſeek Relief of many People, whom he cou'd not very well rely upon; but he ſtaid with few of them any longer than barely to ſupply his Neceſſities; and on his leaving them, always pretended to take a different Rout from that he went in Reality.

In his Wandrings he happen'd to meet the unfortunate Marquis of *Tullibardine*, equally diſtreſt in every Circumſtance as himſelf, and leſs able to bear Hardſhips on Account of his Age. —— From this Nobleman he learn'd a more full Account of the Battle than he had been able to procure before; yet there were ſtill many Particulars which even he, tho' engag'd in it, was ignorant of; and even what was become of the pretended R———T, an Event Mr. MURRAY was moſt impatient for the Knowledge of.—They durſt not ſtay long together, as thinking that if the one ſhou'd happen to be known, it might betray the other: So having mutually condol'd their common Misfortune, and the ſad Fate of

ſo many gallant Men, they ſeparated, and ſaw each other no more.

By long and painful Journeys, moſt taken in the Night, and attended with a thouſand Difficulties, did Mr. MURRAY at laſt reach the Seat of his Siſter, the Lady of *Pimroude*.——Here he was inform'd of the greateſt Part of thoſe Calamities which the Country had been involv'd in, ſince the Battle of *Culloden*; the wonderful and almoſt miraculous Eſcapes of the young *Pretender*, and his no leſs amazing Courage and Fortitude, in the Midſt of the greateſt Dangers and Diſtreſſes that ever Man endur'd.——It ſeems he had always declar'd he wou'd never quit his Enterprize while he had Six Men with him, and he kept his Word; for tho' Veſſels from *France*, both *Privateers* and others, were frequently coming, and took on board thoſe who, ſeeing no Hope of retrieving the Misfortune, were glad to quit that Scene of Deſolation, yet he wou'd never be prevail'd on to accompany them; and was, at the Time of Mr. MURRAY's receiving this Intelligence, among the *Hebrides*; but paſſing continually from one Iſland to another, with a few, a very few Followers, dodg'd thoſe that were in Purſuit of him.——Mr. MURRAY found it wou'd be an impracticable Attempt, as well as unprofitable in the Succeſs, to endeavour to reach him, therefore contented himſelf with offering up Prayers for his Safety, and for all thoſe others whom no Account cou'd be given of.

Any one wou'd have imagin'd, that Mr. MURRAY was now pretty much out of Danger, and might continue ſo, eſpecially as that Part of the Country having already been ſearch'd, the Purſuers were gone to another Place, and wou'd ſcarce return

return the ſame Way: — Yet ſo it happen'd (as frequently we are neareſt Danger when we think ourſelves moſt ſecure) that Three or Four ſtraggling Soldiers, who had ſtaid behind, by ſome means or other had an Information of his being conceal'd there; on which they immediately got Aſſiſtance, enter'd the Houſe, and took him in his Bed:—By theſe Soldiers he was told, that the Earls of *Cromarty* and *Kilmarnock*, with Lord *Balmerino*, and all thoſe Ladies who had made their Camp a Kind of Court, were ſeiz'd, and diſpos'd in ſeveral Priſons.

He was then conducted to *Edinburgh*, where for a ſhort Time he was Priſoner in the Caſtle, and then ſent under a ſtrong Guard to *London*, and order'd to the *Tower*, where he has ever ſince remain'd: None of his Friends, or even his Mother, being permitted to ſee him.

He has, however, been treated in a Manner which few State Priſoners can boaſt of:—His Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, and the Lord Chancellor himſelf, have ſeverally done him the Honour to come in Perſon to the *Tower* to take his Examination, inſtead of ſending for him, as is the uſual Cuſtom.

In what Manner he bears his Confinement is utterly impoſſible to know; but if the Diſpoſition of his Heart may be judg'd by his Countenance, as he appears ſometimes at the Window, he is compoſed, and reſign'd to the Will of Heaven and thoſe Laws he has offended: To the Mercy of which we muſt now commit him; and hope nothing contain'd in theſe Memoirs will prove of any Prejudice either to his preſent Circumſtances, or his future Character.

REMARKS

REMARKS
ON THE
Genuin Memoirs, &c.
In a LETTER to a FRIEND.

SIR,

IN Obedience to your Commands, as well as to ſatisfy my own Curioſity, I have beſtow'd ſome Hours in reading and conſidering the Manuſcript which you ſent me; and which I have herewith return'd by the Bearer.

And now as to my Opinion of it, which you require with ſuch unuſual Earneſtneſs, I will lay it before you with all the Freedom that Friendſhip can juſtify, that Truth requires, and that the Subject-Matter deſerves.

You do not tell me how it fell into your Hands, nor do I deſire to know it: But I wonder much that you can ſeriouſly make a Doubt, whether the Author of it was a *Jacobite*, and whether his Purpoſe was to be an Advocate for Mr. *Murray*, or his Cauſe?

It muſt be acknowledg'd, that he *affects* to ſpeak in ſuch Terms as are us'd by the Friends of our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, and to adopt the Principles which made Way for the Revolution, and which are indeed the Baſis of our Laws and Liberties.

Liberties. But then the *Affectation* is viſible, and if the Voice is *Jacob*'s, the Hands are *Eſau*'s: Beſides, in the Fulneſs of his Heart, he often forgets that he is playing a Part; and by laying aſide his Mask, expoſes the real Features he meant to conceal.

A *Jacobite*, therefore, I am oblig'd to call him; and as that is a Creature in Politics which I have no Charity for, I ſhall give him no Quarter. Allow me to add, with Regard to your own Particular, that I am greatly concern'd to find, that you keep ſuch Company; and ſo much the more, as you ſeem to liſten with ſome Pleaſure to their Deluſions.

There is in your Letter to me none of that honeſt Indignation which us'd formerly to break out, as often as their wicked Endeavours to deſtroy the public Peace, and ſubvert the Conſtitution, were nam'd: Surely, you are not to be dazzled with their tinſel Diſcourſes of Divine Right, nor to be captivated with a moving Tale of Princes languiſhing in Exile, or beſet round with Calamities, when turning Invaders: Knowing, as you do, that their Misfortunes are the Reſult of their own, or their Father's Miſcarriages; that the Sufferings of Inviduals, of whatever Rank, are lighter than Vanity, when weigh d againſt thoſe of the Commonwealth; and that he who attempts to do himſelf Right, at the Expence of a whole Nation, is a Traitor to Mankind.

The Compoſition before me, notwithſtanding ſome Inaccuracies in Stile and Language, and the Eſcapes before-mention'd, is indeed artificial enough to ſeduce the Unskilful and Unwary: But he who knows any thing of our Annals, and who has the Senſe and Honeſty to reaſon clearly and impartially upon them, is, one would think,

out

out of the Reach of that Artifice; and, inſtead of being impos'd upon by it, will look down with Diſdain and Contempt upon him, who endeavour'd to paſs ſuch an Affront upon his Underſtanding. The Misfortune is, that all Men have Paſſions; that in moſt Men thoſe Paſſions have the Aſcendancy over their Reaſon, and that whoever has a doubtful Point to carry, never fails to intereſt thoſe treacherous Inmates in his Cauſe, and to make the Weakneſſes on our Side ſupply the Want of Strength on his.

For Fear, therefore, that even you ſhould catch the *Jacobite* Itch, by ſhaking Hands with thoſe who are already infected, I will do more than you requeſted of me; for I will both ſhew you, that theſe new Friends of your's have the *Highland*-Leproſy upon them, and endeavour to preſerve you from the Taint of ſo loathſome and ſo infamous a Diſeaſe.

But in doing this, I ſhall paſs as gently as poſſible over the Caſe of the unhappy Man, who is *ſaid* to be the immediate Subject of the Piece before us. He is already within the Reach of the Law; the Charge againſt him needs no Aggravation, and nothing would be more unfair than to ſharpen the Severity of the Bench, or to prompt the Verdict of a Jury.

As often, however, as his *Apologiſt* has taken Shelter under his Name, his Authority or his Sentiments, for the Sake of blanching his Cauſe with the more Security, I ſhall be under a Neceſſity of encountering the one as well as the other; and if Mr. *Murray* is hurt in the Shock, he may thank his Friend, who put him in the Way.

In the firſt Place then, we find our *Apologiſt* inculcating, That the Profeſſion made by the *Steuart* Family of the *Roman Catholic* Religion, was

was the *great Bar* to their *Reſtoration*; and at the ſame time endeavouring with all his Might to remove it.

In order to this, he tells us, That Mr. *Murray* was brought up in the ſtricteſt Principles of the *Epiſcopal Reformed Church*; that his Zeal was ſuch, that he even panted for the Converſion of *Rome* itſelf; that he would never have embark'd in the *Pretender*'s Intereſt, if he had not been thoroughly convinc'd, that Popery would have gain'd no Advantage by his Succeſs: And that, in order to facilitate that Succeſs, and thereby to rid himſelf of an Incumbrance, his Holineſs had ſuffer'd the Iſſue of that *Pretender* to be brought up in the Principles of the Church of *England*.

To all which I anſwer: That the Profeſſion of the *Roman* Catholic Religion is not only a *Bar*, but an actual *Incapacity*. There is no one Clauſe in any of our Laws more explicit than That, which enacts and declares, That no *Papiſt* ſhall ever ſucceed to the Crown of theſe Kingdoms; nor is there any Clauſe in any of our Laws more righteouſly founded: The King of *England* is the Head of the *Engliſh* Church; and is by his Coronation-Oath obliged to defend it. But how can *He* be the Head of one Church, who is the avow'd Slave of another? Or how ſhall he reconcile the jarring Duties of defending on one Hand, that which he is oblig'd to deſtroy on the other? To root out the *Northern Hereſy*, we all know, is the great Object of *Roman* Policy; and that can never be done, but by the Help of a *Catholic* King of *England*. The whole Study of King *James* the Second, before he came to the Throne, was to accompliſh this meritorious Work; and that he did not ſucceed in it, after the Reins of Power came into his own Hand, was rather for want of

Time than either Purpoſe or Endeavour. It is true, he did not make uſe of open Force; but then it was, becauſe the Army he had rais'd were not wicked and abandon'd enough to cut the Throats of their Fellow Subjects: All the Arts of encroaching and undermining he made a liberal Uſe of: Witneſs the Proceedings at the Charter-Houſe, the *Savoy*, and at both the Univerſities; the open Encouragement given to all the ſeveral Fraternities on the *Romiſh* Eſtabliſhment; the Favours ſhower'd down on new Converts; the Exerciſe of his aſſum'd *Diſpenſing Power*; and the Perſecution that was rais'd againſt Dr. *Sharp*, the Biſhop of *London*, the Seven Biſhops, and in general againſt all, who had the Courage to defend that Religion and thoſe Liberties, which he had moſt ſacrilegiouſly undertaken to deſtroy.

The bare Hint of theſe Outrages is, in my Opinion, ſufficient to ſhew, that the Clauſe of *Incapacity* abovemention'd, is indeed righteouſly founded: But if any body is enough infatuated to think otherwiſe, let him caſt his Eye on the ſame Prince's Conduct in *Ireland*, after he was driven out of *England*, and if he has any of that Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion imputed to Mr. *Murray*, or any Concern for the Welfare of his Fellow Subjects, he will think with Horror of the whole Line, and make it his daily Prayer, That the Vices of theſe Kingdoms may not provoke the Almighty to viſit them with any Calamity ſo inſupportable as their Reſtoration.

But we are given to underſtand, that by the *Indulgence* of the *Pope*, the Iſſue of the *Pretender* are educated in the Principles of the Church of *England*; and thence we are taught to infer, that Religion is out of the Diſpute, and that none of the Exceptions lie againſt them, which have been ſo prejudicial to their Father. If

If there is any Force in this Argument, it depends on the Truth of the Fact: And what Evidence is produc'd in Support of it? None but the bare Aſſertion of a Writer, who is either miſled, perhaps, by the falſe Informations of others, or has himſelf an *Indulgence* to aſſert what he thinks proper for the Good of the Cauſe. If it was the Reſult of his Holineſs's ſaving Policy, to ſuffer Hereſy to be propagated under his Noſe, the ſame Policy requir'd, that the News ſhould have been propagated as faſt as poſſible thro' every Corner of the *Britiſh* Dominions: And yet in the very *Declarations*, which were of late iſſued in the *Pretender*'s and his *Son*'s Names, from *Italy*, *France*, and *Scotland*, and which were calculated to reclaim a ſtray'd People, not the leaſt Mention is made of a Circumſtance, which was held to be of ſuch Importance to their Cauſe; and this Omiſſion is alone ſufficient to demonſtrate, that the Whole of this plauſible Tale is no better than a downright Forgery.

But ſuppoſe the Fact ſhould be admitted, that his Holineſs had really granted them ſuch an Indulgence; we may be aſſur'd, it was under ſuch *Reſerves* as retain'd the Perſons to whom the Grant was made, as firmly in their Obedience to the Holy See as ever, The more likely any Meaſure was to put them in Poſſeſſion of a Throne, ſo much the more neceſſary it was to rivet their Chains: For the Church never ſows without expecting to reap; and it is utterly incredible, that ſhe ſhould give up her Claims, while ſhe had any Proſpect of a Harveſt.

Beſides, it is not even inſinuated, that the *Father* ever ſhew'd the leaſt Diſpoſition to partake of this *Indulgence*; or that he ever talk'd of relinquiſhing his Pretenſions to the *Adventurer*, whom he ſent

forth to conquer in his Right. If, therefore, the Son was ever ſo unfeignedly and devoutly a Proteſtant, and Succeſs had crown'd his Undertakeings, the *inveterate Catholic* his Father would have had the Advantage: And it is not to be ſuppos'd, that in ſuch Caſe, he would not have made it the Buſineſs of his Life to balance his Accounts with His Holineſs and *France*, in whatever Manner they ſhould think proper to dictate.

Again, thoſe who *know* ſo well, that Religion was *the great Bar* to the *Reſtoration* of that Family, do not ſeem to know at all, that they ſtand forever excluded by the Laws of the Kingdom; in which there is not one Proviſo, That they ſhall ever again be truſted with the Fate of theſe Kingdoms, on *Condition*, That they renounce the Errors of Popery, and enter into the Communion of the national Church.

And laſtly, By theſe Words *the great Bar*, we are directed to conclude, that there was *no other*; whereas, if that were remov'd, the Party would find, that there were many more, and each of ſufficient Strength, to keep the Door faſt againſt them and their Hopes forever.

There is a Thing call'd *Liberty*, which the Inhabitants of this Iſland make no Manner of Scruple of putting on the ſame Foot with their *Religion*: And there is alſo another Thing call'd *Property*, which depends upon *Liberty*, and which, I perſuade myſelf, they will never more hazard in the Gulph of *Prerogative*.

Now it happens, moſt unluckily for the *Stuart*-Family, that, from the Firſt of them to the Laſt, theſe Two Things were ſo far from being treated with the Reverence and Reſpect which belong'd to them, that they were ever conſider'd as the Slaves of the *Prerogative*; and that they were not

not alſo treated as ſuch, was more owing to the Tenaceouſneſs of the People than the Juſtice of their Kings. To prove this by Facts would be to write their Hiſtory, which is already done to my Hands; and to which I refer you for your own Satisfaction, and for abundant Proofs to ſilence all Gain-ſayers.

If it ſhould be urg'd, that the Iniquities of the Fathers ought not to be imputed to the Children; I anſwer, that if they are not anſwerable for their Guilt, they have imbib'd their Principles: And without any Breach of Charity, one may venture to pronounce, that if they had the ſame Power, they would make the ſame Uſe of it.

When the Project of ſtirring up the late Rebellion was forming at *Rome* and *Paris*, it was, above all Things, neceſſary, Firſt, That the Undertakers ſhould have prepar'd their Way, by a ſolemn Renunciation of all thoſe prerogative Maxims, which had render'd the Reigns, and even the very Memories of their Anceſtors, odious to the Nation: Secondly, by an explicit Condemnation of all the arbitrary Practices founded upon them: And Thirdly, by a chearful Adoption of the noble Syſtem, which was the Baſis of the Revolution: For it is notorious, That the People of *England* dread the Return of *Will* and *Pleaſure* above all Things; and thence it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they will never quit the *Vine* to ſit under the Shadow of the *Bramble*. But of whatever Importance theſe Conſiderations were, they neglected them entirely: The Commiſſion of Regency from the *Pretender* to his Son, dated at *Rome* the 23d of *December* 1743, and the Two ſubſequent Declarations ſet-forth by the *pretended Regent* (the one dated at *Paris*, *May* 16th, 1745; the other at *Holyrood* Houſe, *October* 10th the ſame Year), very clearly

clearly indicate, That they propos'd rather to amuſe and deceive, than to convince and ſatisfy the People they were addreſs'd to: Theſe Papers are all in the old dictatoreal, abſolute Stile, of granting, reſuming, and diſpenſing, accompanied with Menaces againſt all thoſe who ſhould not accept the Grace offer'd them, and ſuch a Mixture of Ambiguities, Equivocations, and mental Reſervations, as left ſufficient Room to his mock Majeſty, when Time ſhould ſerve, to do as King *Charles* had done before him; that is to ſay, to explain all the promiſing Part away: All which had an Effect ſo contrary to the Expectations of his Pen-Men, that thoſe who before were inclin'd to think, that ſuch a Series of Afflictions had brought theſe unhappy Exiles to a better Senſe of the Duty of Sovereigns, and the Rights of Subjects, all at once retracted theſe favourable Sentiments, held the whole Family to be alike incorrigible, and ſpoke of the Living in the ſame Terms as are uſually applied to the Worſt of the Dead.

Having, perhaps, expatiated over-largely on this Topick, I ſhall ſcarce ſtay to mention the quaint Incident of the *Thiſtle* and *Roſe*, and their tumbling into the young *Pretender*'s Lap; much leſs to expoſe the Vanity of inſerting what the Event hath ſo effectually diſgrac'd: Nor ſhall I ſhew much greater Regard to the confident Aſſertion of the Father's Legitimacy: Having acknowledged, that the Line is to be trac'd by their Vices, it may be ſuppos'd I have already given up the Queſtion; and if I have, it matters not: For if the Nation had a Right to exclude King *James* for Mal-Adminiſtration, they had alſo a Right to preſerve themſelves from the Reſentment of his Offſpring: And as to the Notion of *hereditary Right*, it is almoſt impertinent to enlarge on

what

what has been ſo often and ſo effectually exploded: Yet, for the Sake of removing the very Grounds of Cavil, I will make uſe of an Hiſtorical Deduction, which will fully demonſtrate, that in *England* no Pretence whatever has been leſs regarded.

William the Firſt (called the *Conqueror*) tho' he took Poſſeſſion by Force, had no Right, but from the People's Election.

William Rufus was elected againſt the Right of his elder Brother.

Henry the Firſt came in by the ſame Way.

King *Stephen* was elected *a Clero & Populo*, and confirmed by the Pope.

Henry the Second came in by Conſent; but had no Hereditary Right, for his Mother was living.

Richard the Firſt was charged before *God* and Men, by the Archbiſhop upon his Coronation, that he ſhould not preſume to take the Crown, unleſs he reſolved faithfully to obſerve the Laws.

King *John*, his Brother, becauſe his elder Brother's Son was a Foreigner, was elected *a Clero & Populo*, and being Divorced from his Wife, by his new Queen he had *Henry* the Third.

Henry the Third was confirmed and Settled in the Kingdom, by the General Election of the People; and in *his* Life-time, the Nation was ſworn to the Succeſſion of *Edward* the Firſt, before he went to the *Holy Land*.

Edward the Firſt being out of *England*, by the Conſent of Lords and Commons was Declared King.

Edward the Second being miſled, and relying too much upon his Favourites, was Depoſed, and his Son was Declared King in his Life-time.

Richard the Second, for his evil Government, had the Fate of the Second *Edward*.

Henry the Fourth came in by Election of the People,

People, to whom ſucceeded *Henry* the Fifth, and *Henry* the Sixth, in whoſe time *Richard* Duke of *York* claimed the Crown; and an Act of Parliament was made, that *Henry* the Sixth ſhould enjoy the Crown for his Life, and the ſaid Duke after him; after which, King *Henry* raiſes an Army, by the Aſſiſtance of Queen and Prince; and at *Wakefield*, in Battle, kills the Duke; for which, 1 *Ed.* IV. they were all, by Act of Parliament, attainted of Treaſon; and one principal Reaſon thereof, was, for that the Duke being Declared Heir to the Crown, after *Henry*, by Act of Parliament, they had killed him.

Edward the Fourth enters the Stage, and leaves *Edward* the Fifth to ſucceed, to whom ſucceeds *Richard* the Third, who was Confirmed King by Act of Parliament, upon Two Conſiderations: *Firſt*, That by reaſon of a Precontract of *Edward* the Fourth, *Edward* the Fifth, his eldeſt Son, and all his other Children were Baſtards. *Secondly*, For that the Son of the Duke of *Clarence*, Second Brother to *Edward* the Fourth, had no Right, becauſe the Duke was attainted of Treaſon, by a Parliament of *Edward* the Fourth.

Henry the Seventh comes in, but had no Title; *Firſt*, Becauſe *Edward* the Fourth's Daughter was then living: *Secondly*, His own Mother, the Counteſs of *Richmond*, was then living.

After him, *Henry* the Eighth wore the Crown, who could have no Title by the Father; in his time the Succeſſion of the Crown was limited ſeveral times, and the whole Nation ſworn to the Obſervance.

Sir *Thomas Moor* then alſo Declared, That the Parliament had a Power to bind the Succeſſion, which was Declared to be Law by 13 *El. cap.* 1. and made a *Præmunire* to hold the contrary.

Edward the Sixth ſucceeded; but his Mother was married to King *Henry*, while *Ann* of *Cleve*, his Wife, was living.

Queen *Mary* was declared a *Baſtard*; and by Virtue of an Act of Parliament of *Henry* the Eighth, ſhe ſucceeded; which Act being repealed in the Firſt of her Reign, and the Crown being limited otherwiſe by Parliament, all the Limitations of the Crown in King *Henry* the Eighth's Reign were avoided; ſo that

Queen *Elizabeth*, who was declared a *Baſtard*, by Act of Parliament in *Henry* the Eighth's time, and limited to ſucceed in another Act in his time, and that Act having been repealed by Queen *Mary*, became Queen by the force of her own Act of Parliament, which declares her lawful Queen.

The Crown was entail'd in *Richard* the Second's time; again, in the time of *Henry* the Fourth; again, in the time of *Henry* the Sixth; again, in the time of *Edward* the Fourth; again, in the time of *Richard* the Third; again, in the time of *Henry* the Seventh; thrice in the time of *Henry* the Eighth:

And upon the Marriage of Queen *Mary* to King *Philip* of *Spain*, both the Crowns of *England* and *Spain* were entailed; whereby it was provided, that of the ſeveral Children to be begotten upon the Queen, one was to have the Crown of *England*, another *Spain*, another the *Low Countries*: And the Articles of Marriage to this Purpoſe were confirmed by Act of Parliament, and the Pope's Bull.

So that it was agreed by the States of both Kingdoms, and the *Low Countries*, and therefore, probably, it was the Univerſal Opinion of the great Men of that Age; That Kings and Sovereign Princes, with the Conſent of their States,

had a Power to alter and bind the Succeſſion of the Crown; which was never denied to be Law, till the Reign of King *Charles* the Second.

To return: As to the Pictures of the Two *Stewarts*, as drawn by our *Apologiſt*, it is out of all Queſtion, that they are ſet forth in ſuch glaring Colours, and plac'd in ſuch a dazzling Light, either to feed the Vanity, or keep up the Spirits of the Party: For, granting that they are poſſeſs'd of all the Gifts and Graces ſo liberally beſtow'd on them, what are thoſe Gifts and Graces to us? unleſs it is expected, that while we admire the Idol, we ſhould alſo acknowledge the Divinity?

But we have already Princes of our own; and if I do not take upon me to emblazon their Characters in Oppoſition to Theſe, it is becauſe I would not be ſuſpected of Flattery on one Hand, or Detraction on the other.

And as to the Pains that our *Apologiſt* takes, to ſhew, that Mr. *Murray* was not *lukewarm* in the Cauſe he eſpous'd, I am ſorry, when I conſider the Condition of the Man, that I am oblig'd to touch on ſo tender a Subject: For whatever has a Tendency to recommend him to one Party, muſt have an equal Tendency to make his Caſe deſperate with the other; and, unleſs he is ambitious of ſharing in the falſe Glory which *Ratcliff* and *Balmerino* acquired, he has little Reaſon to thank a Perſon who has taken ſo bold a Step to put him out of the Reach of Mercy. And if we are to underſtand that Courage, Zeal, and Reſolution, in what Cauſe ſoever exerted, are Virtues, let it be withal conſider'd, that *Cataline* had them all in as eminent a Degree, and made as deſperate an Uſe of them as any Conſpirator amongſt the Moderns.

I come now to a Paſſage or two which I chuſe to tranſcribe, that I may be the better underſtood. Speaking of the *Embrio* of the Rebellion at *Rome*, he ſays, " I am *afraid* that ſome Encouragement " was given from the diſcontented Party in *Eng-* " *land*, but whether it went farther than a meer " *verbal* one, I will not pretend to determine." And again afterwards, when he, Mr. *Murray*, was ſent on the ſame Buſineſs to *London*, " As to what " great Matters Mr. *Murray* was able to bring about " in *England* for the Service of his Cauſe, we are " yet in the Dark--I can only judge by *Conjecture*, " form'd from the Knowledge, how much ſome " Perſons, and thoſe not of an inferior Rank, " had been diſguſted on the Account of *Hanover*, " and the Partiality, which, it was ſaid, was " ſhewn at the Battle of *Dettingen*, to thoſe of " that Electorate: And thence, I ſay, a *Gueſs*, " not altogether romantic, may be made, that in " the Heat of Reſentment, ſome Things *might* " be promis'd, which cooler Reaſon diſavow'd." Now, Sir, give me Leave to ſay, that for Impertinence and Scandal, theſe and other ſimilar Paſſages which our *Apologiſt* has ſcatter'd up and down his Performance, are ſcarce to be match'd by any Libel extant. The great Drift of them all is apparently to countenance the Cauſe, by exciting a Belief, that the Train was laid in *England* as well as *Scotland*; and this Belief we are to ground on his *Gueſſes*, *May-be's* and *Conjectures*. For as to what he is pleas'd to mention, of the *Hanover*-Controverſy, it had not the leaſt Connection with any *Jacobite* Conſideration, and was conducted by ſuch Perſons as are above all Suſpicion of Diſloyalty. It is undeniable, that even when the Invader was in the Heart of the Kingdom, and when it was manifeſt that any Diverſion in his

Favour would have been of the utmoſt Advantage to his Deſigns, not one Perſon of any Figure went over to him; but on the contrary, the whole Nation, as with one Voice, declar'd againſt him, and with one Heart prepar'd to drive both him and his Savage Followers back to their native Mountains. If therefore, he had indeed a Party here, with whom he had any Connection, and on whom he had Reaſon to place any Dependance, it follows, that they were the meaneſt and moſt deſpicable of Mankind, that they had neither Conſcience nor Courage, that they deſerve the Vengeance of both Families alike, and that not a Man of them can, hereafter, avow his Principles, without avowing alſo, that he was too much a Coward to maintain them.

It is true the *Apologiſt* in another Place makes a ſlight Attempt to excuſe their Conduct, by ſaying in effect, "That their Engagements (IF they had ever enter'd into any) were only conditional, That whenever they ſaw a *French* Army on the Coaſt they would favour their Deſcent; and that nothing was more publicly ſaid by the moſt violent of them, than, That they never could be ſatisfy'd with having a King impos'd upon them by the *Scots*." But what Regard is due to this flimſy Pretence, when it is conſider'd, That we receiv'd the whole Family from *Scotland*; that the *Apologiſt* himſelf has before ſpecify'd, that Mr. *Murray*, a *Scotchman*, was the Solicitor in the Cauſe, as well at *London* as in the *Highlands*: And how utterly improbable it is, that thoſe who refus'd a King from *Scotland* ſhould accept one from *France*?

As to the virulent Speech put into the Mouth of the *French* Miniſters, it deſerves no other Notice than Contempt and Ridicule: For, if it

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ſhould be allow'd to be genuine, it either ſerves to ſhew, how egregiouſly they bubble the Wretches who depend on their Countenance and Protection, or how falſely they reaſon on our Party-Diviſions. The People of *England* may be ſenſible of many Abuſes, and while they are, I hope they will never want Spirit to remonſtrate againſt them: But there is nothing they can ſuffer under the preſent Eſtabliſhment, that a Parliament cannot rectify, and till repeated Experiments ſhall have ſhewn, that Parliaments are both uſeleſs and burdenſome, they will never think of ſeeking *Protection* from an Exile, who ſtands in need of it himſelf.

That other ſtrange Poſition, That it is inconſiſtent with the Policy of *France* to have the *Stuart* Family ſet on the *Engliſh* Throne, becauſe ſuch an Event would put a Stop to all her Schemes, deſerves alſo nothing but Deriſion: Since it is notorious, that the ſudden Growth of the *French* Power was principally owing to the unnatural Alliance between the Two Crowns, during the Reigns of *Charles* and *James*; and that if the Revolution had not thrown the Weight of *England* into the oppoſite Scale, the Balance of *Europe* had been loſt irrecoverably, long ago.

But then I join heartily with him in all he ſays, or can ſay, of the perfidious Behaviour of that Court towards the *Adventurer* in their Service. It is out of all Doubt, that they promis'd him all the Succour in their Power, and the Event ſhew'd that they left him in a manner to be ſacrificed; not however for want of good Will to his Perſon or Cauſe, but in Deſpair of Succeſs. They ſoon ſaw that the Tide of the Nation was againſt him, that he muſt of Neceſſity be borne down with it in the End; and that the Coſt and Hazard of the

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Experiment would be greater than the Value of it. According, therefore, to their uſual Politics, having found their Account in the Diverſion it occaſion'd on the Continent, they made their Obligations ſubſervient to their Intereſt, and gave over the Purſuit.

And now, all that remains is, to conſider, how the raiſing a new Rebellion was conſiſtent with the many Virtues aſcrib'd to the Perſon, who was the Leader in that Enterprize, by his Admirers.

The Nation was then, as it ſtill continues, engag'd in Two ſeveral Wars, with Two of the greateſt Powers of the Continent; and, however diſguſted the Majority had ſhewn themſelves with thoſe in Power, and the Meaſures they had purſued, ſo little did thoſe in Power apprehend that their Diſguſt aroſe from their Diſaffection, that they empty'd the Kingdom of almoſt all its regular Troops, and in a manner rely'd on the People themſelves for the Defence of the Government.

I do not ſay this was over-prudent, with reſpect of the Situation of our Affairs abroad; the Opportunity invited the Inſult; and, as the Militia had been ſhamefully ſuffer'd to ruſt by Diſuſe, and to grow contemptible by being uſeleſs, it was a capital Offence againſt the Commonwealth, that any ſuch Opportunity was allow'd.

The People, on the other Hand, neither complain'd of the Hazard they were expos'd to, nor ſo much as dreamt of taking the Advantage, to bring about any Alteration, tho' wickedly prompted to it by anonymous Writers, who in ſuch Caſes would have been the firſt to ſhrink from the Danger.

All was Peace, Security and Happineſs, from one End of the Land to the other, and yet in the midſt of this bleſſed Compoſure, did this Hero, as we find him oſtentatiouſly ſtil'd, enter into a Confederacy with our open and avow'd Enemies, to let

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looſe Deſtruction amongſt us, by employing our own Swords to butcher one another; under the inſolent Pretence of having a *Right Divine* to be our Sovereign Lord and Maſter, and to take Poſſeſſion of his *own*, by any Means how wicked and ruinous ſoever.

We learn from our very *Apologiſt*, That his Enterprize was the Reſult of the concurring Councils of *France*, *Spain*, and *Rome*, all, as before obſerved, the inveterate and implacable Enemies of *England*; and that whatever Encouragement it receiv'd from hence, was the Reſult of Mr. *Murray*'s Negotiations: Of Remonſtrances and Invitations, ſetting forth Oppreſſions, and requiring Deliverance from his Hand, which alone could juſtify ſuch an Attempt, we hear not a ſingle Word; What was ſtill worſe, he could not be ignorant, that the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, both the Trading and Money'd Intereſt, and even the very Mob, were inſeparably attach'd to that Family, which had been put in Poſſeſſion of the Throne by the free and general Voice of all: That, conſequently, he would meet with inſuperable Oppoſition, which could not but be fatal to Thouſands: And that, in caſe he had ſucceeded, he would have been under a Neceſſity to divide the Spoils of the Commonwealth amongſt the Freebooters who had help'd him to the Poſſeſſion, and to have made his *Lord-Scots* as abſolute Maſters of the Conſtitution, as the *Lord-Danes* were formerly. And yet this Man, whoſe Ambition was ſo immoderate, that, rather than not graſp at a Crown, he choſe to do it by the Hands of thoſe that were not only a Diſgrace to their Country, but even to Human Nature itſelf, and in his Way to Sovereign Power, to trample over the dead Bodies of thoſe he pretended to take into his Protection, This Man, this Hero, I ſay, we find both repreſented

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and repreſenting himſelf, as coming to ſave, not deſtroy; and like *Solomon*'s true Mother, chuſing to yield his Right in the Child, rather than ſuffer it to be mangled before his Face.

You may remember, Sir, that our *Apologiſt* makes Uſe of this pompous Image, when he ſpeaks of the Blockade of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, and the *gracious* Conceſſion of the young *Adventurer* to the Inhabitants of that City, to ſave their Houſes from being beat down about their Ears: But then he either does not know, or does not chuſe to remember, that, when the Duke of *Gordon* held the ſame Fortreſs for King *James* II. the Lords *Belcarres*, *Dundee*, and the Reſt of the *Jacobite* Faction, had ſo little of this boaſted Mercy in them, that they would have induc'd his Grace to lay the whole City in Ruins with his Cannon, only for the Sake of diſlodging the Convention-Parliament, then ſitting at *Holy Rood* Houſe, and employ'd in making a Transfer of the Crown to King *William*.

And now Sir, I hope, I have not only made it appear, that our *Apologiſt* is a *Jacobite*, and that his Performance is calculated to ſerve the *Jacobite* Cauſe; but that the Cauſe itſelf is a rotten one, and that every Man ſtands ſelf-condemn'd, either as Coward or Traitor, who at this time of Day preſumes to avow it.

I do not aſk whether it is propoſed to make this Apology public; Perhaps you are not in the Secret, and could not reſolve me if I did. Neither the Queſtion, nor the Thing itſelf, is of any great Conſequence. It is I find, the Play of the Party, at preſent, to addreſs themſelves to the Paſſions of the People, and to endeavour to ſerve their Hero, by making them in Love with his Merits and Accompliſhments, and by awakening their Pity for his Misfortunes: But, I hope, my Countrymen are not ſo ſenſeleſs as to pity him, who had no Pity on them, or to love thoſe pretended Virtues which had like to have been the Ruin of our Conſtitution.

Leſt, however, ſuch an Infatuation ſhould prevail, and that that Loyalty which has withſtood the Storm, ſhould melt in the Sunſhine, it is the Duty of you, me, and every *Engliſhman*, wherever the Poiſon is ſpread, to diſpence the Antidote. I am,

FINIS

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM